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ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS IN INDIA

(A Linguistic Study, together with an exhaustive Bibliography)

Being the Pandit Bhagwanlal Indarji

Gold Medal Essay, 1943

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Respectfully Dedicated
to
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ABBREVIATIONS

ABIA	..Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology.
ABORI	..Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
ALOC	..All India Oriental Conference.
AJP	..American Journal of Philology.
AO	..Acta Orientalia.
AR	..Asiatic Review.
AS.	..Aśoka(n).
ASI	..Archaeological Survey of India.
ASSI	..Archaeological Survey of Southern India.
ASWI	..Archaeological Survey of Western India.
b	..Bairāt Minor Rock Edict.
bb	..Barābar Cave Inscriptions.
BDCRI	..Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.
bh	..Bairāt-Bhābrū (Calcutta-Bairāt) Minor Rock Edict.
BLSI-	..Indian Linguistics. Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India.
br	..Brahmagiri Minor Rock Edict.
BSOS	..Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
BVP	..Bhārātīya Vidyā Patrikā.
CHI	..Cambridge History of India.
CII	..Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
COJ	..Calcutta Oriental Journal.
D	..Dhauī Rock Edict.
d	..Dhauī Separate Edict.
EI	..Epigraphia Indica.
G	..Girnār Rock Edict.
GGA	..Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
H	..Hemacandra.
Hlz.	..Hultzsch. Inscriptions of Aśoka. (CII, Vol. I).
IA	..Indian Antiquary.
IC	..Indo-European.
IE	..Indo-Germanische Forschungen.
IF	..Indian Historical Quarterly.
IHQ	..Jaugada Rock Edict.
J	..Jaugada Separate Edict.
j	..Journal Asiatique.
JA	..Journal Asiatique.
JAHS	..Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
JAOS	..Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB	..Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS	..Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.
JBHS	..Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.
JBORS	..Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JDL	..Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.
	..Journal of Indian History.

JOR	..Journal of Oriental Research.
JPASB	..Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JPTS	..Journal of the Pālī Text Society.
JRAS	..Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
jtr.	..Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara Minor Rock Edict.
JUB	..Journal of the University of Bombay.
JUPHS	..Journal of the United Provinces Historical Research Society.
K	..Kālsī Rock Edict.
kb	..Allahabad-Kauśāmbī Pillar Edict (Minor).
kpb	..Kopbāl Minor Rock Edict.
kq	..Queen's Edict—Allahabad-Kauśāmbī Pillar.
Ksb	..Allahabad-Kauśāmbī Pillar Edict.
L	..Lüders' List of Prakrit Inscriptions, appended to Ep. Ind. 10
M	..Mānsehrā Rock Edict.
Mi	..Delhi-Mīraṭh Pillar Edict.
MI-A	..Middle Indo-Aryan.
mk	..Minor Rock Edict(s).
MRE	..Mathia Pillar Edict (Lauriya-Nandangarh).
Mth	..Nigālī Sāgar Minor Pillar Edict.
ng	..New Indian Antiquary.
NIA	..Nāgarī Prachāraṇī Patrikā.
NPP	..Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
OLZ	..Pillar Edict(s):
PE	..Quarterly of the Andhra Historical Society.
QARS	..Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
QJMS	..Radhia Pillar Edict (Lauriya-Ararāj).
Rdh	..Rock Edict(s).
RE	..Rummindēi Minor Pillar Edict.
ZII	..Rāmpūrvā Pillar Edict.
rm	..Rūpnāth Minor Rock Edict.
ru	..Shāhbāzgarhī Rock Edict.
S	..Sahasrām Minor Rock Edict.
s	..Sacred Books of the East.
SBE	..Sāncī Minor Pillar Edict.
sc	..Śddāpur Minor Rock Edict.
sd	..Sanskrit.
Sk.	..Sārnāth Minor Pillar Edict.
sn	..Sopārā Rock Edict.
So	..Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preuss. Ak. der Wissenschaften.
SPAW	..Delhī-Toprā Pillar Edict.
T	..Transactions of the American Philological Association.
TAPA	..Vararuci.
V	..Vienna Oriental Journal.
yr	..Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
WZKM	..Yerrāguḍi Minor Rock Edict.
VOJ	..Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDMG	..Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.

INTRODUCTION

So much has been written, revised, and re-written on the subject of Aśokan inscriptions that it hardly needs lifting one's pen to point out any further the importance of the subject. As the oldest dated records in Prakrits, their importance for a historical study of MI-A languages can never be overrated. Again almost as the first lines of any text to be put down in writing and preserved in India, the singularity of these inscriptions has been well appreciated. Their value for the reconstruction of the political history of ancient India is contained in the fact that they yield some useful dates and events in the life of the great monarch Aśoka. For the early history of Buddhism, its diffusion in the distant corners of the Emperor's vast territories, for the missionary activities which he carried on in the cause of the "Law of Piety" he purported to enunciate, these inscriptions read as a gospel. And with the few colours regarding the social conditions that are preserved in these edicts can also be drawn a picture of the contemporary society.

These are some of the various aspects from which the inscriptions of Aśoka could be studied. Within the limit of a hundred foolscap pages prescribed for the competitive essay it is impossible to do full justice to all these aspects. Moreover with some of the biographical sketches of the life and career of Aśoka and the publication of the "Inscriptions of Aśoka" in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. I (new edn.) almost all these aspects have been ably and fully studied (see note on Bibliography, Part II, pp. 95.9). The present attempt is, therefore, restricted to a linguistic study of these inscriptions from a comparative view point of historical linguistics.

If we were to take into consideration the dates when some of the edicts were first discovered then the history of the study of these inscriptions may be said to stretch over two centuries. For, the honour of the discovery of the Delhi pillar goes to Padre Tieffenthaler who gathered the fragments of the pillar somewhere about 1750. The activity which was started at that stage was fruitfully carried on by numerous enthusiasts and it is needless to recount all the dates when the different records were first discovered. Yet the real study of these inscriptions must be regarded to have commenced when James Prinsep first unveiled roughly in the middle of the nineteenth century the mystery which overhang the art of deciphering these inscriptions. Learned scholars who followed in his wake contributed their share at every stage to make available to the readers a more correct text and translation of these inscriptions. It is on the basis of the efforts of these early scholars that we have to base the edifice of our linguistic study to-day.

The present monograph includes all the available inscriptions of Aśoka¹ : the versions of the fourteen Major Rock Edicts found at Girnar, a mile to the East of Junāgaḍh in the Kāthiāwār Peninsula, at Shāhabāzgarhī, nine miles from Mardān, the headquarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshawar Dt., and at Mānsehrā, the headquarters of a tahsil in the Hazārā Dt., both in N.W.F. Province, at Kālsī, in the Chakrātā tahsil in the Dehra Dun Dt., Ū.P., at Dhauli in the Khurda subdivision of

1. For their geographical distribution see the map.

the Purī Dt., Orissa, at Jaugaḍa, in the Berhampur tāluka of the Ganjam Dt., Orissa, the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, the fragment of the VIIIth Rock Edict discovered at Sopārā in the Bassein Taluka of Thānā Dist., Bombay; the sets of Pillar Edicts found at Delhi-Toprā, the village Tobra where the pillar originally stood being identified with Tōprā on the direct line between Ambala and Sirsāvā, 22 miles to the South-West of Khizrābād, at Delhi-Mīraṭh, the village Mīraṭh being the present headquarters of the Meerut district in the U.P., at Lauriya-Ararāj, formerly known as Radhia Pillar, in the Champaran Dt., N. Bihar, at Lauriya-Nāndangarh, once known as Mathia Pillar, in the same district of Bihar, at Rāmpūrvā, again in the same district of Bihar, at Allahabad Kauśāmbī, the latter being identified with modern Kosam, about 28 miles West by South from Allahabad: this same pillar has on the face of it the so-called "*Queen's Edict*" and the so-called "*Kauśāmbī Edict*" (minor), besides the first six of the seven Major Pillar Edicts; the texts of the Minor Pillar Edicts discovered at Sāñci, an ancient cite in the Bhopal State in Central India, at Sārṇāth, about 3 miles to the North of Benares, at Rummindei, about 13 miles South-East of Nigālī Sāgar Pillar in the Nepalese Tarai and about 5 miles to the North-East of Dulhā in the British Dt. of Basti in the U.P., at Nigālī Sāgar, about a mile South of Niglīvā, belonging to the South of Nepalese Tahsil of Taulivā and about 7 miles North-West of Piprāhwā in Basti Dt., of U.P.; the Minor Rock Edicts discovered at Rūpnāth, 14 miles west of Sleemanabad railway station on the line from Jabalpure to Katni, at Sahasrām, the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād Dt., Bihar, at Bairāt, the headquarters of a Tahsil in the Jaipur St., Rajputana, at Calcutta-Bairāt, once styled as the Bhābrū edict, at Maski, in the Raichur Dt., and at Kopbāl, the head-quarters of a district in the Jagir of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur both in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, the versions at Brahmagiri, Siddāpur, and Jatinga-Rāmeśvara all three being situated in the Chittaldroog Dt., Mysore State, at Yerrāguḍi, in the Kurnool Dt. of Madras; and the cave inscriptions in the Barābar hill, 15 miles to the North of Gaya in Bihar.

The version of the Minor Rock Edict at Yerrāguḍi is already mentioned above. The following notice published on page 791 of the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 4, speaks of the discovery of a set of fourteen Rock Edicts. "A momentous discovery of another recension in Brāhmī script of fourteen rock edicts of Aśoka has just been announced by the Department of Archaeology in India. The inscriptions have been found engraved on five large rocks in the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency. Eleven of the fourteen rock edicts have already been identified. It is expected that a fuller report together with the photographs of the inscriptions will be available shortly." More than a decade has elapsed since the publication of this notice and yet this valuable discovery has not been brought out in print. This delay in the publication is to be greatly regretted for the material afforded by the South Indian inscriptions of Aśoka is scanty and the publication of these fourteen edicts would largely add to our knowledge of the South Indian dialect in the Aśokan age.

The Deotek slab inscription lately published by Prof. V. V. Mirashi¹ and attributed by the learned editor to the days of Aśoka is not included in the present study. Deotek is a small village some fifty miles to the south-east of Nagpur in C.P. The attribution of the inscription to Aśoka is mainly based upon the subject matter of the ins-

1. Proceedings and Translations, 9th AIOC. pp. 613-22.

scription which is thus narrated by the editor : " . . . its object was to record the command of some lord (*Sāmi*) . . . prohibiting the capture and slaughter (evidently of some animals . . .) and declaring some punishment for such as dared disobey it. The third line mentions executive officers (*āmachā = amātyāḥ*) whose duty may have been to enforce these orders." On the basis of this information Prof. Mirashi contends, "The contents of the present inscription suggest that it may be referred to the age of Aśoka when there was a wide-spread campaign against the capture and slaughter of animals." Prof. Mirashi himself notes certain circumstances which go against his view. Firstly the commencement of the record is unlike that of the known inscriptions of Aśoka. And secondly some letters, e.g., *ñ*, *p* and *c* in the first line and *t* which occurs in the first two lines belong to a later period. But in spite of these difficulties Prof. Mirashi believes that the Deotek edict was issued by some officer of Aśoka perhaps in the fourteenth year after his coronation.

The arguments put forward in support of this attribution do not carry conviction. Besides the palaeographic and stylistic difficulties already noted above I am putting forward here the difficulties in attributing the record to Aśoka from the linguistic view point. First of all, if the word *lego* occurring in the fourth line is to be derived from *lekha-*, it involves the change of *-kh-* to *-g-* perhaps through *-gh-* (*lekha-* > **legha-* > *lega-*). But this is a highly advanced phonetic change which never appears in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Even the intermediate stage where *-kh-* > *-gh-* occurs only in the inscription of the 1st cent. B.C. in Central India. (cf. Sk. *Makhādeva-* > *Maghādeva-* at Bharaut L 691). The cluster *sv-* which appears in the word *svāmi* (line 1) is never preserved in the Central Indian inscriptions of Aśoka, except in the word *svaga-*. It is preserved, on the contrary, in the West and the N.-West (in the form *sp-*) in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Similarly in the Deotek slab the cluster *-jñ-* is palatalised to *-ñ-* in *āñāpa-* (line 1) and *rāñā* (line 4). Now palatalisation of this cluster forms the Western characteristic of the inscriptions of Aśoka. In the Central and Eastern regions on the contrary it is assimilated to *-n-*. The preservation of the cluster *-mb-* in *Cikambari* (line 1) also appears to be a later characteristic. Coming to the declined forms in the Deotek inscription, the nom. sg. ends in *-o*, (*bandhamito* line 2), but Central Indian inscriptions of Aśoka always show the ending *-e*. Thus the absence in the Deotek slab of the Central Indian peculiarities observed in the inscriptions of Aśoka preclude the possibility of its being assigned to the days of Aśoka. The inscription, therefore, is excluded from the present study.

As the inscriptions of Aśoka offer to the scholar of Indian Linguistics an extremely fruitful field for research they have attracted the attention of a very large number of scholars—linguists, palaeographers and historians alike. As one goes through the pages of the Bibliography attached at the end as the Second Part of this Essay, one is amazed at the large number of contributions already made with regard to these inscriptions. It is not quite unlikely that one may even come to the conclusion that there is now hardly anything left to be written on the subject of Aśokan inscriptions. But as the initial reaction of wonder subsides the reader would begin to see the way in which he can yet make some original contribution. The almost all these attempts are devoted to the publication of the edicts, to the writing of explanatory notes on inscriptions, to the identification of places and peoples mentioned in

particular trait in the life of Aśoka. A comprehensive attempt to study these inscriptions from the view point of comparative linguistics still remains to be undertaken. It is true that some of the scholars have fully studied the dialects of the different versions or have made a beginning in this direction. Hultzsch's excellent summaries of grammars of individual versions are undoubtedly valuable. But he has failed therein to make a comparative approach so as to cover all the versions at a single stretch.

The present essay is, therefore, based on this comparative stand point which is to be applied to the entire material afforded by these inscriptions. Thus the treatment of a particular phoneme or morpheme in all versions is studied at one place and wherever the dialectal distinctions could be observed in the geographically distant areas they have been pointed out. The whole study is divided into two Parts—the first part being devoted to such comparative study and the second part to a complete Bibliography. The first part again consists of three chapters. The first chapter deals with the Phonology and Morphology of these inscriptions. It includes the comparative study of the treatments of vowels and consonants in all positions. This approach enables us to fix the regional correspondences which the different versions exhibit. In the short space which is at our disposal it is not possible to give example of the preservation of Sk. vowels and consonants, unless such preservation itself is of linguistic importance. A few changes which are introduced in the treatment of consonants due to assimilation and others which are only occasional in their appearance have been referred to in foot-notes. The study mainly purports to bring out the stage as is reflected in these inscriptions in the development of the MI-A languages in the different corners of India. Where the examples are quoted they are culled as far as possible to represent all the versions of the inscriptions and thus satisfy the requirement of comparative study. It also deals with the declensional and the conjugational systems from the same comparative stand point as is applied to the study of Phonology. The dialectal variations in each case have been generally specified in the beginning and the exceptions wherever they occur have been immediately noted.

The second chapter includes the study of Syntax of these inscriptions. But for a few syntactical peculiarities in the Major Rock Edicts noted by Hultzsch at the end of the Grammar of the Gīṃar version this important branch in the linguistic study of these inscriptions has almost remained untouched. As an exhaustive study of Aśokan syntax could not be included in this Essay, only such peculiarities as appear in the government of cases, in case variations, and a few others have been exemplified at some length. Even in this sphere the different versions of the edicts point to dialectal variations in certain instances.

The last chapter views the results in Phonology and Morphology arrived at by the comparative study in the light of the Prakrit grammarians. The school of Prakrit grammarians came into vogue at a very late stage and hence their grammars are based on the literary works. The three principal languages treated by them derive their names from the three geographical subdivisions viz. Magadha, Śūrasena and Mahārāṣṭra. It is, therefore, quite natural to suppose that the dialects which later developed into full fledged literary languages must have been reflected in the different versions in Aśokan inscriptions corresponding to their respective regions. For though the edicts which were to be inscribed at various places in Aśoka's empire were the same when they were issued from Magadha, they were altered actually at the time of inscribing them at various places so as to suit the requirements of local dialects. A

note of warning, however, requires to be sounded here before one eagerly looks into these inscriptions to get as it were the Western, the N.-Western, the Central or the Southern translations of the Māgadha edicts. It is only the Gīrnār and the Shāhbāzgarhī versions of the fourteen rock edicts which materially differ from the Māgadha version. The edicts which appear in Central and Southern India do not seem to have been so largely altered. To substantiate this statement the treatment of *r* in the Central Indian inscriptions of Aśoka may be cited as an illustration. In this division the semi-vowel *r* becomes *l* as in the Māgadha dialect. But in the numerous votive inscriptions at Sāñci which come almost on the heels of Aśokan inscriptions this *r* is preserved. Now it would be hazardous to suppose that the Central Indian dialects in Aśoka's days changed *r* > *l* but began to preserve it when the inscriptions at Sāñci were inscribed. On the contrary it would be more natural to suppose that the scribes who put down the Central Indian versions of Aśoka's inscriptions did not alter the Māgadha *l* to *r* but kept the form of the word as it appeared in the Māgadha dialect. This single illustration, however, does not preclude the possibility of the Central and Southern scribes of having made any change whatsoever. For instance, the Kōpāl version alone of the Minor Rock Edicts presents an instance of initial cerebralisation of the dental *n*. This cannot be explained in any other way except by supposing that its insertion was entirely due to the influence of a local dialect.

Thus it is the study of the Western dialect in comparison with the Eastern one of the Aśokan inscriptions which can be principally utilised for the study of the development of literary Mahārāṣṭrī and Māgadhi. However, wherever the versions other than those in the two regions noted above show any dialectal peculiarity even they have been considered in relation to the later Prakrits of the grammarians. The purpose of this last chapter is primarily to investigate the extent to which the dialectal characteristics noticed by later grammarians had already begun to appear in the corresponding regions in the days of Aśoka.

The second part is devoted to the presentation of an exhaustive Bibliography of Aśokan inscriptions. All the entries have been in the first instance arranged alphabetically under their authors' names in order to facilitate ready reference. In the end is given a Note on the Bibliography which classifies all these four hundred odd entries according to their subject matter by giving reference to their number in Bibliography.

As the present monograph is restricted to the linguistic study it has not been possible to deal with some other aspects of the inscriptions. Yet it may be pointed out what is being done quite recently in this direction. With the texts, translations and numerous explanatory notes already having been made available, the identification of Satiyaputra and the problem of the religion of Aśoka seem to interest the scholars even to-day. The former has been differently identified and with regard to the Emperor's faith all the existing religions of the land have been exhausted. It appears, however, that the Emperor was a convert Buddhist, though the Dhamma he undertook to preach did not contain the philosophical delicacies peculiar to this religion. It is not intended here to give a detailed argument in support of this opinion. The absence of the dogmatic tenets of Buddhism in his preaching seems to make us believe that Aśoka did not as much wish to see that all his subjects were convert Buddhists like that they practised the ethical side of the religion. The

discovery by the Department of Archæology in India. This material, when published, would be of immense importance inasmuch as the south Indian Aśokan material is rather scanty in comparison with the north Indian material.

I have not added here any remarks as regards the find spots³ of the Aśokan inscriptions. They are now too well-known in the world of scholars to need repetition here.

PHONOLOGY

I. VOWELS

§ 2. In common with the other MIA languages the Sk. vowels are well preserved in these inscriptions, the notable exceptions being those of the vowel *ṛ* and the diphthongs *ai* and *au*.

§ 3. Treatment of the vowel *ṛ* in a metrically short syllable :

(i) In its initial position this vowel generally tends to become *a-* in G even when combined with a labial. In K and to a certain extent in M, *ṛ-* either becomes *a-* or *i-* so that in a few cases we actually get two parallels for a Sk. word, one indicating the *a-* and the other the *i-* treatment. In S, *ṛ-* generally becomes *i-* and in a few cases *a-*. It becomes *u-* when combined with a labial. D. J. Pillar and Minor Rock inscriptions agree with the treatment found in K, except that in the latter *ṛ* > *u-* in combination with a labial.

Sk.	G.	K	S
<i>kṛtá-</i>	<i>kata-</i>	<i>kaṭa-</i>	<i>kiṭa-</i>
<i>mṛgá-</i>	<i>maga-</i>	<i>miga-</i>	<i>kiṭra-</i>
			<i>mruga-</i>
M	D,J	PE	MRE
<i>kaṭa-</i>	<i>kaṭa-</i>	<i>kaṭa-</i>	<i>kaṭa-</i>
<i>kiṭa-</i>			
<i>mṛiga-</i>	<i>miga-</i>	Sk. <i>śimará-</i> >	Sk. <i>mṣāvāda-</i> >
	Sk. <i>pṛthivī-</i> >	<i>śimala-</i>	<i>musāvāda</i>
	<i>pṛṭhavi-</i>		

It must be noted that S and sometimes M do not in all cases change the vowel *ṛ* to *a-*, *i-*, *u-* but also preserve the consonantal character of the vowel *ṛ* in semi-tat-samas.⁴ Then again in G we get *śruṇāru* from Sk. $\sqrt{śṛ}\eta u$; but this is due to the influence of the other forms of the root $\sqrt{śru}$ - (cf. HULTZSCH, p. LVI). Other parallels are : *śuneyu* K, *śruṇeyu* S, *suneyu* MRE.

(ii) In the penultimate position it appears that the change *ṛ* > *i-* is fast disappearing in the edicts which showed it in the initial syllable and the change *ṛ* > *a-* is tending to be normal. Under stress accent it becomes *i-* in all groups.

3. These will be clear from the Map No. 1.

4. Cf. for this type of change WACKERNAGEL, *Ai.Gr.* I §29. p. 33.

Sk.	G	K	S
<i>vyāpṛta-</i>	<i>vyāpata-</i>	<i>viyāpaṭa-</i>	<i>vapaṭa-</i> <i>viyapuṭa-</i>
<i>etādṛśa-</i> <i>īdṛśa-</i>	<i>etārīsa-</i>	<i>hedīsa-</i>	<i>edīsa-</i>
M	D, J	PE	MRE
<i>vapuṭa-</i> <i>viyapuṭa-</i>	<i>viyāpaṭa-</i>	<i>viyāpaṭa-</i>	Sk. <i>prakṛti-</i> > <i>pakili-</i>
<i>edīsa-</i>	<i>edīsa-</i>	<i>hedīsa-</i>	

(iii) Most of the words where we get the vowel -ɾ in its final position are those expressive of human relationship and in such cases it becomes -i or -u.

Sk.	S, M	K, D, J	PE	MRE
<i>bhrāṭṛ-</i>	<i>bhrātu-</i> <i>bhata-</i> M	<i>bhāli-</i>		
<i>pitr-</i>	<i>pitu-</i> <i>piti-</i>	<i>pili-</i> <i>-pitu-</i> D	<i>piti</i>	<i>pili-, pitu-</i> ⁵

§ 4. The vowel ɾ in a metrically long syllable :

(i) In the initial position the vowel generally becomes *a-* in all edicts, with this difference that when combined with a labial it becomes *u-* oftener in other edicts than in G.

Sk.	G	S, M	K
<i>vṛkṣā-</i>	<i>vracha-</i>	<i>rucha-</i>	<i>lukha-</i>
<i>vṛddhi-</i>	<i>vaḍhi-</i> (<i>vuḍha-</i> Sopārā)	<i>vaḍhi-</i> S <i>vadhri-</i> M	<i>vaḍhi-</i> (<i>vadha-</i>)
D, J	PE	MRE	
<i>lukha-</i>		Sk. <i>adhi-kṛtya</i> > <i>adhi-gicya.</i> <i>vaḍhi-</i>	
<i>vaḍhi-</i> <i>vuḍhi-</i>	<i>vaḍhi-</i>		

The Sk. root $\sqrt{dṛkṣ-}$ gives two bases $\sqrt{dakḥha-}$ and $\sqrt{dikḥha-}$ from which we get $\sqrt{dakḥha-}$ (S, M, K, D, J, MRE) and $\sqrt{dekḥha-}$ (D, J, PE). The form *diseyā* in bh is derived from Sk. *dṛśyate* by KERN and HULTZSCH.

(ii) In the penultimate position we get the same treatment as in the case of the initial syllable.

Sk.	G	K	S, M.	D, J	PE
<i>ānṛṇya-</i>	<i>ānaṇna-</i>	<i>anaṇiya-</i>	<i>anaṇiya-</i>	<i>ānaṇna-</i>	Sk. <i>apakṛṣṭa-</i> > <i>apakāṭha-</i>
<i>nivṛtti-</i>		<i>nivuti-</i>	<i>nivuti-</i>	(<i>anāvuti</i>)	Sk. <i>niṣṛṣṭa-</i> > <i>niṣiṭha-</i> (due to assimilation).

5. At yr. -ɾ > -ū- before term. under the influence of gen. pl. cf. *-pitūsu*,

Sk. *yātra*¹³ > *yatā* K; other edicts, including K, give forms with *-a* at the end.

Sk. *ātha* > *athā*.yr.

The change is sometimes observed in the terminations of declension.

Sk. *bhayēna* > *bhayenā* PE.

Sk. *jānapadasya* > *jānapadasā* K,T. *jānapadasa* G,D,PE.

4. The loss of visarga : The visarga at the end is lost in these inscriptions and the preceding vowel *-a* sometimes undergoes the following changes.

(i) Change *-aḥ* > *-ā* :

Sk. *Magah* > *Magā* G, *Makā* K, *Maka* S,M.

(ii) Change *-aḥ* > *o* : This is generally found in G,S.

Sk. *yāśaḥ* > *yaso* G,D,J. *yaśo* or *yaśo* K, *yaso* M.

Sk. *vāyaḥ* > *vayo* PE.

(iii) Change *-aḥ* > *-ē* is generally met with in edicts other than G and S.

Sk. *jānaḥ* > *jane* S,M,K,D,J,PE, but *jano* S,G.

Sk. *-priyaḥ* > *-piye* everywhere, but *priyo* or *piyo* S,M,G.

§ 10. Treatment of the vowel *a* in a metrically long syllable : The vowel, though mostly preserved, becomes *ā* in a few cases.¹⁴

Sk. **rājñū-ka-* > *rājñūka-* G, yr, *rajuka-* S,M, *lajñūka-* K,D,PE.

Sk. *vaktavya-* > *vātavā* bh, but *vatava-* S, *vatavya* G, *vataviya-* M,K, D,d,j, and Mysore group.

Sk. *pūnarvasu-* > *punāvasu-* PE.

Sk. *anyātra* > *ānata* K, but *anata* K,D, *añatra* S,M,G, *am̐nata* D,J,PE.

The change of *-a* > *-i-* in a metrically long syllable is found in Sk. *gr̥hasṭha-* > *gihitha-* K,T, but *gahatha-* K,M, *gharastā-* G, and *grahatha-* S. The fact that both the forms with *-i-* and *-a-* are found in K shows that this treatment is dependent upon the corresponding change of *ṛ-* > *a-* or *i-*.

§ 11. Treatment of the vowel *i* in a metrically short syllable : The vowel is overwhelmingly preserved. Yet it undergoes the following few changes.

1. Change *i-* > *a-* due to dissimilation is observed in :

Sk. *pipīlikā-* > *kapīlika-* T, Rdh, Mth, Rp, but *kipilikā-* Ksb.

Sk. *pr̥thivī* > *-puṭhavi-* d. It must be noted that the Sk. vowel *-i-* which becomes *-a-* is a svarabhakti vowel.

2. Change *(v)i-* > *u-* is observed in such cases as :

Sk. *dvitīya-* > *duṭīya-* ng., kq.

Sk. *svid* > *su* d, j.

3. Change *i-* > *e-* may be witnessed in Sk. *tri-daśa-* > *tredaśa-* M, *tedasa-* K., D, but *tidaśa-* s.¹⁵

13. In Vedic Sk. we get the form *yātrā* also.

14. Besides the instances noted above also cf. *sāva* (< Sk. *sārva-*) at K. other versions including K show short *a* : Sk. *dākṣiṇa-* > *-dākhina-* T. Mi, Ksb, Rp., but *-dakṣinā-* Rdh, Mth; Sk. *āgatya-* > *āgāca* fm, ng; Sk. *pranapti-* > *panāti-* K, but *panati-* D, *paṇati-* M, *pranati-* S.

15. For G *traidasa* cf. *supra* §6.

4. The vowel *i* is often lengthened in prepositions, suffixes and before the loss of final consonant or visarga.

Sk. *pratibhāga-* > *paṭibhāga-* G, *paṭibhāga-* K.S. T almost invariably gives *paṭi-* for Sk. *prati-*.

Sk. *-abhikāra-* > *-abhikāra-* G, *-abhikāra-* D, *-abhikāra-* S.M, *-abhikāra-* K.

Sk. *sthitika-* > *-sthitika-* D,J,PE,sc,bb,br,sd,Kpb, but *-sthitika-* M,T,ru,s,b, *-sthitika-* S.T,Mi, *-sthitika-* K.

Sk. *lipi-* > *lipi-* d,j, but *lipi-* D,sn.

Sk. *prakṛti-* > *paṅkṛti-* sd, *paṅkṛti-* br,sd, but *pakṛti-* jtr.

Sk. *etāsmi* > *etāmi* G, but *etasi* d, j.

This change in the quantity of the vowel is also sometimes observed before the case terminations.

Sk. *jñātisa-* > *jñātisa-* G, also cf. *amterāsisa-* yr.

Sk. *rājabhī-* > *rājābhī-* > *rājābhī-* T.

5. Initially *i-* is lost only in a few cases.

Sk. *idānim* > *dāni* MRE (*dāni* Kpb) but *idāni* S,M,K.

Sk. *iti* > *i-* in all versions; *iti* is sometimes obtained in G,D.

§ 12. Treatment of the vowel *i* in a metrically long syllable: The vowel is mostly preserved, but sometimes it is changed to *i* or *e*.

Sk. *nirvīkṣy-* > *nīlakha-* PE. Rp once gives *nīlakha-*.

Sk. *viṁśatī-* > *viśatī-* rm, ng, bb and other PE. Once in *salavisatī-vasa*, however, T gives short *i-*. The presence of the long vowel may even be regarded as the preservation of IE long *ī-* which is noticed in AV. *viśatī*, Lat. *uigintī*.¹⁶

Sk. *cikitsā-* > *cikicha-* G, but *cikichā-* S,M,DJ.

Sk. *avihiṁsā-* > *avihiṁsā-* G, but *avihiṁsā-* in other versions, *avihiṁsā-* G,T.

The change of *i-* > *e-* may be noticed in the following plausible example: Sk. **i-tra* > *eta* G,D, *etra* S, *hetā*. So,K,D,J,Kq,S.

§ 13. Treatment of the vowel *u* in a metrically short syllable. Though the vowel is preserved in a large majority of cases, sometimes it becomes *a*, *i*, *ū* or *o*.

1. Change *u* > *a* may be instanced in Sk. *pūnar* > *pana* S,M,D,J, (but *punā* S,M,G,K,) and Sk. *gurū-* > *garu-* S,G,yr, *garuta-* br., *galu-* K (but *guru-* S,M,G, *gulu-* K,D,J). But as has been already noticed the latter forms are to be compared with Sk. *gārīyas-* and *garīṣṭha-*.

2. Change *u* > *i* occurs in such cases as,

Sk. *pūruṣa-* > *pulisa-*¹⁷ PE, d, j.

Sk. *mānuṣa-* > *munisa-*¹⁸ K,D,J,PE,MRE, but *manuṣa-* S,M,K, *manusa-* G, *mānuṣa-* Kpb.

Sk. *Purinda-* > *Piladā-* K, but *Pulida-* S, *Pārinda-* G, and *Pālinda-* M.

3. Change *u* > *ū* occurs sometimes before case terminations.

Sk. *bahūbhī-* > *bahūhi* G,D,J, but *bahuhi* S,K.

16. See BLOCH, *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 37.

17. The vowel which undergoes the change is a svarabhakti *vo* in similar circumstances; *supra* § 11.

18. This is only an analogical form after *purisa-*.

Sk. *bahūṣu* > *bahūsū* D,J,PE.

Sk. *gurūṣu* > *gurūsū* yr.

It is also lengthened due to loss of visarga.

Sk. *sādhūḥ* > *sādhū* D,T, other versions give short -u.

Sk. *vaseyuh* > *vasevū* D, others give short -u.

For some sporadic lengthening of the vowel *u* cf, '

Sk. $\sqrt{yuj-}$ > $\sqrt{yūja-}$ d,j.

Sk. *pratyupagamana-* > *pacūpagamana-* T, Rdh, Mth, Rp, but *pacupagamana-* Ksb.

Sk. **mādhurātā-* > *mādhūratā-* G, but other versions show short *u*.

The vowel *u* is lengthened in its final position when followed by *ti* (< Sk. *iti*), or sometimes even without it.

Sk. *jānantu iti* > *jānāntū ti* MRE.

Sk. *bhavadu iti* > *hotū ti* PE, also cf. *ālādhāntū ti*.

Sk. *yūñjantu* > *yujāntū* D, but *yujāntu* M,G,K, also cf. *pañthesū* G, but *maḡesu* in other versions.

Sometimes, however, the vowel -ā- is shortened in Sandhi and in compounds.

§ 14. Treatment of the vowel *u* in a metrically long syllable : The vowel is only exceptionally lengthened in such cases as :

Sk. *anāyuktika-* > *anāvūtiya-* d, but *anāvutiya-* j.

Sk. **niṣṭhurya-* > *niṣṭhūliya-* d, j, PE.

Sk. *anupratipanna-* > *anūpaḷipamna-* T. The change may even be attributed to analogy with similar lengthening of *i* in prepositions.

§ 15. In the case of long vowels *ā*, *ī* and *ū* it is to be remembered that as the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet does not mark the length of the vowels such long vowels are absent in S and M. Hence in these versions at S and M the short vowels sometimes stand for long ones.

§ 16. Treatment of the vowel *ā* followed by a single consonant : The vowel is almost invariably preserved. Such cases as *dana-* (for *dāna-*), *papa-* (for *pāpa-*) are clearly due to scribal mistakes. *-aparadha-* in G is to be derived from the root $\sqrt{radh-}$ used in the same sense as $\sqrt{rādh-}$ ¹⁹

Sk. *mahānasa-* > *mahanasa-* D, (S,M), but *mahānasa* Ġ,K.

Sk. *mahāmātra-* > *mahamata-* Kq, but other versions give forms with *mahā-*.

Sk. *mahādhanā-* > *mahadhana-* yr.

The vowel -ā in its final position²⁰ is sometimes shortened in the declined forms of the nom. sg. or inst.-sg.

Sk. *rājā* > *rāja* G, *lājā* K,D,T,bb, *laja* S,M, but *rājā* G, *lājā* K,D,J,T,b.

Sk. *icchā* > *icha* S,M,K,d,j, but *ichā* G,K,PE.

Sk. *ātmānā* > *atana* Rdh, Mth, Rp, but *atanā* T, Ksb.

Similarly the vowel *ā* is sometimes shortened in the eastern dialect when it is followed by *m* (which is changed into anusvāra) or when the visarga at the end is lost.

19. Cf. HULTZSCH, p. lvi.

20. It is perhaps shortened due to the loss of final consonant in Sk. *syāt* > *siya* PE, j, (S, M), but *siyā* K, d, j, PE, MRE, Sk. *manāk* (?) > *mina* or *mana* PE (*minā* Mi).

Sk. *bhātānām* > *bhātānāṃ* (G). D, J, K, T, but *bhūtānām* G.

Sk. *putrāḥ* > *puta* K, D, J, but *putrā* G (*putra* S, M).

§ 17. Treatment of the vowel *ā* followed by a consonant cluster : It is in this treatment that the regional distinction is clearly noticed. Whereas in the Western division the long vowel is preserved, it is usually shortened at other places.

Sk. *ātyayika* > *ācāyika* G, (*acayika* S, M) but *aliyāyika* K, D, J.

Sk. *māṛḍava* > *māḍava* G, *madava* K, T.

Sk. *prakrānta* > *pakamta* MRE.

When a cluster with a nasal follows the long vowel *ā*, it is shortened to *a* even in G. If the long *ā* is preserved in the inscriptions then the anusvāra is dropped or the cluster is assimilated.

Sk. *Tāmraparṇī* > *Tamṛaparni* G, K, J, S, *tamṛaparni* M.

Sk. *klānta* > *kilamta* d, j.

Sk. *kṣānti* > *chānti* G, *chanṭi* S, *khamti* K.

Sk. *ā√jñap* > *ā√ñapa* G, *ā√ṇapa* K, D, J, T, Kb. *ā√ṇapa* br, (*a√ṇapa* S, M).

Sk. *ālmanā* > *alanā* PE, *alan* d, j.

§ 18. Treatment of the vowel *ī* followed by a single consonant : In this position the vowel is fairly well preserved. It is only in the Kālsī version that the vowel is often represented as short one. In *tiṃni* (< Sk. *trīṇi*) we find that the vowel is shortened and a nasal is added to it. Therefore such forms as *devinam* and *amusathini* may be regarded according to HULTZSCH, as defective spelling for *devinamam* and *amusathinimi*.

Sk. *jīvā* > *jiva* K (S, M) but *jīva* G, D, J, PE.

Sk. *dīpana* > *dīpana* K (S, M), but *dīpana* G.

Sk. *śīla* > *sīla* G, D, K (*śīla* S, M).

The nom. sg. of fem. nouns ending in *-ī* generally ends in long *-ī* in G and the Mysore group, but it ends in short *-i* elsewhere. In the case of the nom. sg. of mas. nouns ending in *-in*, the short vowel is noticed at G, S, M, PE, and the long vowel at D, J, Ksb and *ī* in K and MRE.

For some sporadic shortenings of *ī* cf. the following instances :

Sk. *pipīlikā* > *kapilika* Rdh, Mth, Rp, *kipilikā* ksb, but *kapilika* T.

Sk. *miśrībhūta* > *misibhūta* mk.

Sk. *dvīlīya* > *duliya* ng, kq.

Sk. *āśvāsaniya* > *asvāsaniya* d, j, (also cf. *daviya* d).

The long vowel *ī* is changed to its guṇa substitute in Sk. *īdṛṣa* > *hedisa* K, D, J, sn, *ediśa* S, M.

§ 19. Treatment of the vowel *ī* before a consonant cluster : As is noticed in the case of the vowel *ā* before a consonant cluster, this vowel also is usually shortened in all edicts except at G.

Sk. *kīrtī* > *kīti* G, *kiti* M, D, J, *kiṭri* S, *kiti* G, K.

Sk. *īrṣyā* > *isā* d, j, *isyā* PE.²¹

Sk. *dīrghāyus* > *dīghāvusa* br, sd, but *dighāvusa* sd, jtr (*digha* HLZ.)

21. The long vowel *ī* is, however, preserved in PE in the form *paṭikkhā* (< Sk. *parikṣā*).

§ 20. Treatment of the vowel *ū* before a simple consonant : It is usually kept long in all versions except those at S,M, (and K). The form *thūba-* occurring at ng. is not to be derived from Sk. *stūpa-* but from $\sqrt{stūbh-}$. The short vowel in *bhuya-* (Sk. *bhūyas*), which is found in Major RE suggests that it is probably to be read as *bhuyya-*. For some irregular shortenings of *ū* at K we may compare such instances as—

Sk. *sūpa-* > *supa-* K, (S, M), but *sūpa-* G,D,J.

Sk. *mayūra-* > *majula-* K (S,M), but *majūla-* J.

Sk. *pūjā-* > *puja-* (S, M), but *pūjā-* G, PE.

The treatment of the long *ū* in Sk. *śūsṛūṣā* is rather irregular. Cf. *susūsā-* K,J,T, *susrusā-* and *susuhṣā-* (note the compensatory addition of anusvāra) G, $\sqrt{sususa-}$ D, jtr. But *suśrūṣā-* G, *susūsā-* D,PE, $\sqrt{susūsā-}$ J, br, sd, (*suśruṣa-* S,M).

§ 21. Treatment of the vowel *ū* before a consonant cluster. In this case the vowel is shortened in all versions including the one at G.

Sk. *-pūrva-* > *-purva-* or *-puva-* G, *-pruva-* S,M, *puluva-* K,D,J.

Sk. *dūṣya-* > *dusa-* sn., sc., kb.

The long vowel is, however, met with in such forms as *-sūta-* (< Sk. *sūtra-*) at bh, *-sūriya-* and *-ṣūliya-* (< Sk. *sūrya-*) at sc. and nj respectively.

§ 22. Treatment of the vowel *e* : It is preserved in these inscriptions almost rigorously even when followed by a consonant cluster. It is only in such rare forms as *ika-* (Sk. *eka-*) at sn. that the vowel undergoes any change. In S, however, a tendency is noticed to change the final *-e* to *-i*.²²

Sk. *dvé* > *duvi* S, but *duve* elsewhere.

Sk. *rājānaḥ* > (**rājāne*) > *rajani* S, but *iajane* M and *lājāne* D,J,T.

§ 23. Treatment of the vowel *o* : This vowel is also extremely well preserved even when followed by a consonant cluster. It is shortened to *u* only as a sandhi peculiarity.

Sk. *ekona-* > *ekuna-* bb.

Sk. *prajotpādāna-* > *pajpādāna-* S.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 24. Generally, simple consonants are well preserved both initially and medially. The processes of sonantisation, loss of occlusion and others by which intervocal consonants suffer numerous changes in later Prakrits, though not altogether absent in Aś. inscriptions, have only just begun to appear in them. The law of cerebralisation too has only partial application.²³

§ 25. Gutturals :

(a) On the whole the gutturals are initially preserved. In G, the form *gharasta-* is not an instance of initial aspiration, for the MIA base *ghara-* is to be derived from IE **g^hhoros-*, and not from Sk. *grhā-* (for the latter derivation cf. V. 4.32 and H. 2.144).

(b) Medially the gutturals undergo a few changes²⁴ which are detailed below :

22. For a similar tendency in the Kharoṣṭhī documents of Chinese Turkestan cf. BURROW, §1.

23. A few changes which are due to assimilation and dissimilation as well as some other exceptions are generally indicated in fns.

24. Change *-k-* > *-kh-* due to assimilation. Sk. *akarkaśa-* > *akhakhasa-* d.

1. Change of surd to sonant is instanced by *-k- > -g-* in the East.

Sk. *-lokā- > -loga-* j, but *-loka-* everywhere else.

Sk. *adhikṛtya- > adhigicya* bh.

The foreign name Antiochos appears as *Antiyoga-* K (M), but *Antiyoka-* S,G,D,J.

2. Change of a guttural to *y* found with *-k-²⁵* and *-g-* has occurred only in the suffix. The change is perhaps an eastern characteristic (?).

Sk. *anāyuktika- > anāvūṭiya-* d, j.

Sk. (*paśu-* etc.) *+ upa-ga- > upaya-* S,M,G,K,D, but *-upaga-* G, K,D,J,d,T.

Sk. *ardhatrika > adhāliya-* MRE.

3. Change of a sonant to surd is instanced by *-g- > -k-* in the North, North-West and the South.

Sk. *Maga- > Maka-* S,M,K, but *Maga-* G. Also cf. the name Antigonos which appears as *Antekina-* S,M,K,G.

Sk. *-upa-ga- > -upaka-* S,M, cf. above for other forms.

Sk. *ārogya- > *āroga- > āroka-* yr, but *ārogiya-* br, sd.

4. Change *-gh- > -h-* by loss of occlusion :

Sk. *laghū- > lahu-* G,K,T.

§ 26. Palatals :

(a) In their initial position they are well preserved.

(b) In the medial position the following few changes may be noted.

1. Change of a surd to sonant is found with *-c- > -j-* in the non-Western regions.

Sk. *acala- > ajala-* d, but *acala-* j.

Sk. *sāṁkuci > saṁkuja-* PE.

2. Change of a palatal to *-y-* is instanced only by *-j-* in the North-West.

Sk. *Kamboja- > Kaṁboya-* S, but *-j-* is given by M,K,G.

Sk. *rājan- > raya-* S, but other edicts give the forms with *-j-*.

Sk. *samāja- > samaya-* S, *samāja-* S,M,G,K,D,J.

3. Change of a sonant to surd is found with *-j- > -c-*. Its appearance in the Western and North-Western regions may be attributed to the Eastern influence.

Sk. *Kamboja- > Kaṁboca-* D, for other forms cf. above.

Sk. *vraja > vaca-* D,J,G,K, *vraca-* S,M, *√vraca-* S.

§ 27. Cerebrals :

(a) The forms with initial cerebral are only conspicuous by their absence in Aś. inscriptions. The loss of initial cerebralisation is found in a single instance.

Sk. *ḍuḷi- > duḍi- or daḍi-* PE

(b) In the medial position the cerebrals, with the exception of *-ṇ-* are well preserved.²⁶

1. Change of *ṣ- > -ḍ-* occurs in the Centre and the North.

Sk. *-vāṭikā- > -vaḍikā-* Kq, *-vaḍikyā-* T.

2. Change *-ḍ- > -ḷ-* occurs in the non-Western groups.

Sk. *eḍaka- > eḷaka-* PE, but *eḍaka-* T, Rdh, Mth.

25. The forms *dīyaḍha-* M,K and *diyaḍhiya-* MRE are derived from Sk. *dvikārdha-* and instanced as the change *-k- > -y-* by HULTZSCH. But these forms are to be derived from *dyyardha-*; also cf. TURNER, *Gavimāh and Palkigundu Insc.*, p. 11, in. 2.

26. Only *-ṭh > -ṭ-* by loss of aspiration, Cf. Sk. *kamaṭha- > kaphaṭa-* PE.

Sk. *durāḍaśā* > *durāḍasa* and *durāḍasa* PE. also cf. *parivāḍasa* and *parivāḍasa* (< Sk. *parivāḍaśā*) in PE.

3. The cerebral -ṣ- is usually preserved in the Western and North-Western groups and at Mysore and Kopbāl in the South. Elsewhere it is changed to -ś-²⁷

Sk. *kāraṣa* > *kāraśa* S.G. *kāraśa* K.PE. *kāraśa* yr.

Sk. *parāṣa* > *parāśa* br. sd. jr. *parāśa* yr.

Sk. *sāraṣa* > *sāraśa* br. sd. jr. kpō. *sāraśa* ru.s.yr.T.

§ 28. Dentals :

(a) In the initial position the dentals are well preserved. The change of *t* > *ḍ* is found in a solitary case in the North.

Sk. *taśa* > *ḍasa* K. but *taśa* S.M. *taśa* G.J.d.

(b) In the medial position though they are usually preserved, the following few changes may be noted.

1. Change of *-t-* > *-ḍ-* is met with in the North and the North-West.

Sk. *hitā* > *hiḍa* S.M.K. but *hitā* S.M.G.K.D.J.PE.

Sk. *-yātrā* > *-yadra* M. *-yātrā* G.K.D.

Sk. *kāṣṭhāyāyati* > *kāṣṭhāyati* S. but *-ti* in other editions.

2. Change *-ḍ-* > *-t-* is perhaps instanced in the East.

Sk. *pratiṣṭhā* : cf. the forms of *pratiṣṭhā* in j. The derivation of these forms is however highly doubtful. The versions at d and T give forms with *pratiṣṭhā*.

3. Change *-dh-* > *-h-* by loss of occlusion :

Sk. *nyagrāha* > *nigraha* T. bb.

Sk. *viḍha* > *viha* PE.

4. Change *-dh-* > *-ḍ-* by loss of aspiration :

Sk. **iḥa* > **hiḥa* > *hiḥa* in all versions except G. *iḥa* G. JOHANSSON connects *hiḥa* with Vedic *iḥ* 'now'.

Sk. *skandha* > *-kharidha* G perhaps by metathesis of aspiration, but *-kharidha* S.M.K.D.

5. Loss of *-t-* and insertion of *-r-* is found in the numeral :

Sk. *caturdāśa* > *cāruḍasa* PE.

6. Loss of *-ḍ-* is met with only in the West²⁸ (and the South).

Sk. *tāḍṛśa* > **tāḍṛśa* > *tāḍṛśa* G. but *tāḍṛśa* K.D.J. *tāḍṛśa* S.M.

Sk. *yāḍṛśa* > **yāḍṛśa* > *yāḍṛśa* G.yr. but *āḍṛśa* K.D.J.M. *yāḍṛśa* S.

§ 29. Labials :

(a) In the initial position they are well preserved.²⁹

1. Change of *b-* > *p-* is met with only in a single instance in the North-West.

Sk. *bāḍhara* > *pāḍhara* S (but S also gives *bāḍhatarara*), elsewhere we get *bāḍhara* or *bāḍha*.

27. As exceptions *garana* (< Sk. *garhaṇā*) at S. *brarana* (< Sk. *brāhmaṇā*) at M and *khana* (< Sk. *kṣana*) at d may be noted.

28. This loss of occlusion in the West compares well with the later Māhābhāṣya characteristic.

29. *p* > *p̣* due to assimilation in Sk. *parusa* > *p̣arusa* d. j. *p* > *p̣* due to assimilation in Sk. *p̣ip̣likā* > *kaṭ̣likā* PE (kī- Ksb).

2. Change *bh-* > *h-* occurs only in the forms of the root $\sqrt{bhū-}$ in all versions perhaps as an Eastern characteristic (cf. *hoti*, *hotu* etc.), for the forms with *bh-* occur only in the West and the North-West (cf. such forms as *bhoti*, *bhavati*, *bhave*).

(b) In the medial position the following few changes which occur only in limited instances may be noted.

1. Change *-p-* > *-b-* is met with only in the North at Delhi-Topra.

Sk. *lipi-* > *-libi-* T, but *lipi-* occurs in Major Rock Edicts, MRE and other PE (including T).

2. Change *-p-* > *-v-* is noted in a single case.

Sk. $\sqrt{prā}\sqrt{āp-}$ > $\sqrt{pāva-}$ s, $\sqrt{pāpa-}$ elsewhere.

3. Change *-bh-* > *-p-* is apparently due to mistake or it may be due to assimilation.

Sk. *prati-bhoga-* > *pati-poga-* Rdh, but *-bhoga-* in other PE, S,M,K.

4. Change *-bh-* > *-h-* by loss of occlusion.

Sk. $\sqrt{labh-}$ > $\sqrt{laha-}$ d,j,kb.

Sk. instr. pl. term. *-bhiḥ* > *-hi* in all versions.

5. Change *-bh-* > *-b-* by loss of aspiration³⁰ :

Sk. **stubha-* > *thuba-* ng. If the form is derived from Sk. *stūpa-* then the change *-p-* > *-b-* is instanced.

6. Change *-m-* > *-ph-* by metathesis of aspiration :

Sk. *kamatha-* > **kaṣaṭha-* > *kaphaṭa-* PE.

§ 30. Semivowels : With the exception of *r* which is dialectically changed to *l* in certain groups, semivowels are normally preserved in these inscriptions.

§ 31. The semi-vowel *y* :

1. The semi-vowel *-y-* > *-j-* in one instance.

Sk. *mayūra*³¹ > *majura-* S, M. *majūla-* K, J.

2. It is elided both initially and intervocally. In the initial position, elision occurs mostly in the indeclinables and relative pronouns.

Sk. *yātra* > *yatra* or *yatā* S,M,G,K,s, *ata* K,D,J,T.

Sk. *yāthā* > *yathā* S,M,G,K,PE,sd, *athā* K,D,J,PE.

Sk. *yāvat* > *yava-* S,M,G,PE, ru, *āvā* or *avaṁ* S,M,G,K,D,PE.

Sk. *yādrśa-* > *yārśa-* G, *yadiśa-* S, *ādisa-* M,K,D,J.

Sk. *yat* (adverb) > *yam* Major RE and Mysore group, *am* M,K,d,j.

Sk. *yat* (Pron.) > *ye*, *yam* or *ya* S,M,GK,MRE, *e* or *am* M,K,D,J,jtr.

It can thus be noticed that the Eastern dialect drops the initial *y-* but the Western dialect favours its preservation. Its occasional elision in the non-Eastern areas is very likely due to the Eastern influence.

Intervocally the elision is observed exclusively in the North-Western region.

Sk. *priyā-* > *pria-* S (about 4 or 5 times), all other versions including S give *priya-* or *piya-*.

Sk. **ekatya-* > **ekatiya-* > *ekatia-* S, but *ekatiya-* K,D,J,M.

Sk. *dvyardha-* > **diyadha-* > S, but *diyadha-* M,K, *diyadhiya-* MRE.

30. Similar loss of aspiration is perhaps instanced in *-ph-* > *-p-* in the form *tupaka* (gen. 2nd pers pron.) at ru, but cf. *tuphāka-* d, j, *tuphākaṁ* sn.

31. The G form *mora* is regarded by TURNER to be a loan word. cf. BSOS 4 363.

It is interesting to note that in all these cases where S drops intervocal -y-, the Mānsehrā version which is so near to it always preserves -y-. But it is well-known that the latter has more 'Magadhisms'.

3. In some cases -y- is elided and -v- is developed mostly in the presence of u. The tendency is seen in the non-Western regions.

Sk. *dirghāyus-* > *dirghāvusa-* br, sd, jtr.

Sk. *āyukti-* > *āvuti-* d, PE, but *āyuti-*³² j.

Sk. *viṣaya-* > *viṣava-* S, sn, *visava-* K, but *viṣaya-* M and *visaya-* G.

The interchange between -y- and -v- is also noticed in the optative term. -*eyu* : -*evu*.

Sometimes y- is developed initially³³ perhaps as a non-Western characteristic.

Sk. *evā* > *yevā* M,K,D,J,PE, but *eva* S,K,G.

§ 32. Initially r- is preserved in the Western and North-Western divisions³⁴ but is consistently changed to l- in other places.

Sk. **rājñ-ka-* > *rājuka-* S,M,G, *lājñka-* K,D,PE.

Sk. *rājan-* > *rājā* S,M,G,So, *lājā*, K,D,J,PE and MRE.

Intervocally -r- submits to the same treatment as in the initial position, with only a few exceptions.³⁵ Among MRE the South Indian inscriptions at Mysore, Kopbāl and Yerrāguḍi preserve -r- but at Maski -r- > -l- (or -r-). Other MRE in the East and the Centre change -r- > -l-, with only a few exceptions at the latter place.

Sk.	G(SO)	S,M	K,D,J	PE
<i>cāraṇa-</i>	<i>-caraṇa-</i>	<i>-caraṇa-</i>	<i>-calana-</i>	<i>-calana-</i>
<i>cirā-</i>	<i>cira-</i>	<i>cira-</i>	<i>cila-</i>	<i>cila-</i>
Sk.	PE	MRE		
		Mysore, Yr, Kpb	Other MRE	
<i>paurāṇa-</i>		<i>porāṇa-</i> , or <i>-na-</i>		
<i>sātireka-</i>		<i>sātireka-</i>	<i>sātireka-</i> ru.	
<i>vatsara-</i>		<i>-vachara-</i>	<i>(sātireka-</i> mk)	
			<i>-vachala-</i> s.	
			<i>(vachara-</i> ru)	
<i>cirā-</i>		<i>cira-</i>	<i>cila-</i> s, b.	
			<i>(cira-</i> ru)	
<i>sūrya-</i>	<i>-ṣuliya-</i> nj		Also cf. <i>galava-</i> bh ;	
	<i>-suliya-</i> T		Sk. <i>udāra-</i> > <i>uḍala-</i>	
	<i>-suriya-</i> sc.		ru, mk, s, b etc.	
			Sk. $\sqrt{\text{kar-}}$ > $\sqrt{\text{kala-}}$	
			mk.	

§ 33. Initially l- is well preserved. Intervocally it is changed to -ḍ- in just a few cases.

32. This reading is accepted by HLZ. Others read *āvuti-*.

33. For similar development in the Niya Prakrit, cf. BURROW, §32.

34. The forms of the root $\sqrt{\text{laca-}}$ at G, S, M (S has $\sqrt{\text{raca-}}$ also) are regarded by HULTZSCH as 'Magadhisms'. But in Sk. itself we have $\sqrt{\text{loc-}}$ connected with $\sqrt{\text{roc-}}$.

35. Sk. *sāra-* > *sālā* S, M, K, but *sāra-* G. Sk. *aparibodha-* (?) > *apaḷibodha-* S,M,K,D.

Sk. *mahilā* > *mahiḍā* G.

Sk. *Cola* > *Coḍa* Major RE

Sk. *Kerala* > *Keraḍa* S, but *-la-* in other versions.

Sk. *ḍuli* > *daḍi* or *duḍi* PE

§ 34. The semi-vowel *v* :

1. Initially *v-* is generally preserved, its stray change to *p*³⁶ being due to assimilation. Thus Sk. *vipula* > *pipula* ru., elsewhere we get *vipula*.

2. In the cluster *dv*, *v* is changed to *b* in the West and North-West.

Sk. *dvādaśā* > *dbādasa* G. *badaya* S, but other versions give *duvādaśa* or *duvādasa*.

3. Intervocally *-v-* is normally preserved. When clustered with *t*, it is changed to *-p-* in the West (cf. *dv* > *db* above).

Sk. *catvāraḥ* > *catpāro* G, *cature* S, *catāli* K.

Absolutive term. *-tvā* > *-tpā* G, *-tu* in other versions.

4. Intervocally *-v-* is lost only in the West [cf. above §27(b) 3 and footnote].

Sk. *sthāvira* > *thāira* G.

5. *v-* is initially developed³⁷ before *u-* in the following :

Sk. *ūḍha* > *vuḍha* S,M,G,K.

Sk. *√uc-* > *√vuca* S,M,G, *vuta* G,D.

Sk. *uṣṭa* > *vuta* S.

§ 35. Sibilants :

In MIA languages the three Sk. sibilants are often merged together into the single dental sibilant. In Aś. inscriptions which are the best representatives of the early MIA we find a threefold treatment of the sibilants in all their positions.

(i) S,M preserve the distinction between the three sibilants: *ś* the rest, except K. show only the dental sibilant *s*. It is important to note that even the Eastern dialect shows *s* and not *ś*; (iii) as regards the treatment of the sibilants in K it would be best to quote the remarks made by HULTZSCH. "In *śālinā* I think the Kālsī dialect agrees with the Girnar one in replacing the two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* by *s* though *ś* occurs in K IV twice. cf. *vaśa*, *Piyadaśinā*) In a few cases *ś* is used where Sk would require it. But in the majority of instances *ś* and *ṣ* are phonetically and etymologically impossible. To explain this some scholars have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilants besides *ś* and that he used the letters *ś* and *ṣ* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant. In other words, the letters *ś* and *ṣ* at Kālsī are purely phonetic".

Sk. *śrāvaka* > *śravaka* S, M *śrāvaka* S *śrāvaka* K D

Sk. *śuśrūṣā* > *suśruṣa* S,M *śuśrūṣā* S *śuśrūṣā* K D PE MRE

Sk. *-daśā* > *-daśa* S,M *-daśā* S *-daśā* K D PE MRE

Sk. *mānuṣa* > *manuśa* S,M *mānuṣa* S *mānuṣa* K D PE MRE, mānuṣa K

The following few exceptions are noted in the text

36. The form *vāṭa* at ru is a stray change from *vāra* to *vāṭa* with Sk. *vāra-taḥ*.

37. This is a characteristic of the Western dialects of the early MIA.

38. Cf. Aś. Ins. p. 100: *śaśa* S *śaśa* K *śaśa* D *śaśa* PE

(a) In the treatment of palatal ś :

Sk. *śuśrūṣā* > *suśruṣa*- S,M. Note the initial *s*- and not ś- due to dissimilation.

Sk. *anuśocana*- > *anusocana*- S.

Sk. *śākya* > *śaka*- mk. Note initial ś instead of *s*-.

(b) In the treatment of the cerebral ṣ :

Sk. *abhiṣikta*- > *abhisita*- S,M, *abhiṣita*- nj. Thus *-s-* and *-ṣ-* occur where they are not expected to be.

Sk. *mānuṣa* > *manuśa*- S,M. Note *-ś-* for *-s-*.

Sk. *viṣaya*- > *viṣava*- sn.

Sk. *eṣaḥ* > *eṣe* kq.

Sk. *varṣa*- > *vaṣa*- mk.

The other exceptions in S and M occur in terminations : cf. loc. pl. *yesu*, gen. pl. *ubhayeśaṃ* (M), *ubhayesu* (S), futures in *-īśati* and *-eśati* etc.

(c) In the treatment of the dental s :

Sk. *saṃśayika*- > *śaśayika*- M (due to assimilation).

Sk. *satyā*- > *śaca*- sd.

Sk. *svargā*- > *śvaga*- b.

Sk. *śāsana*- > *śaśana*- S, M (due to assimilation).

Sk. *upāsaka*- > *upāśaka*- mk.

Other exceptions occur in terminations. cf. *ṣaṣu*, *pañcaṣu* etc. at S, M, *Devānāṃ-piyaṣā* at kq, and *ācariyaśa* at jtr.

The change of *-s* > *-h* is sometimes observed in the future endings like *-hatha* and *-hamti*.

§ 36. The aspirate *h* is well preserved both initially and medially. It is, however, lost in a few cases in the North-West.

Sk. *hastin*- > *asti*-³⁹ S,M, but *hasti*- G, *hatthi*- D,K.

Sk. *ihā* > *ia* S,M ; but *iha* S,M,K.

Sk. *māma* : Pkt. *maha* > *maa* S ; other versions have *mama*.

Sk. *āha* > *aa* M (once VI 26), otherwise we get *āhā*.

Sk. *ahām* > *aam* M, but *aham* or *hakam* elsewhere.

There are certain instances of cockneyism where *h*- is developed initially before a vowel. cf.

Sk. *īdṛśa*- > *heḍisa*- K, *hēdisa*- D,J,sn, but *cdīśa*- S,M, *edisā*- K,D,J, *etārīsa*- (< Sk. *etādṛśa*-) G.

Sk. *evam* > *hevam* Iṣ,d,j,T,Rp,MRE, but *evam* S,M,K,D,G.

Sk. **i-tra* > *hetā* So,K,D,J,kq,s, but *etra*, S,M, *cta*, G,D.

§ 37. Palatalisation :

By the law of palatalisation sometimes the dentals and occasionally even the gutturals are palatalised mostly in the presence of the vowel *i* or the semi-vowel *y*. Except the palatalisation of *-k*- and *-g*- in the North, and that of *-t*- in the East, this feature is mainly a characteristic of the West and the North-West (and also of the South).

1. Gutturals : Following gutturals are palatalised in the circumstances noted below.

39. This is HULTZSCH's reading, others read *hasti*-.

- (i) The gutturals -k- and -ḡ- are palatalised⁴⁰ at K and T in the North.

Sk. *nikāyā-* > *nikyāya* K, but *nikāya-* elsewhere.

Sk. *sthitika-* > *-ṭhitika-* K, but *-ṭhitika-* or *-thitika-* elsewhere.

Sk. *Kalīṅga-* > *Kaligya-* K, *Kalīṅga-* elsewhere.

Sk. **aṣṭa-krośika-* > *adha-kosikya-* T.

Sk. *āmra-vāṭikā-* > *ambā-vaḍikyā-* T.

- (ii) Intervocal -kh- when combined with y is once palatalised in G.

Sk. *sañ √khyā-* > *sachāya* G, but *saṁkhaya* S,M, and *saṁkhaye* K.

- (iii) Cluster kṣ : The treatment of this cluster is interesting inasmuch as in all positions it is palatalised in the West and the North-West,⁴¹ but assimilated to the guttural kh elsewhere.

Sk. *kṣudrā-* > *chuda-*⁴² G, but *khuda-* K,D,J,MRE.

Sk. *kṣaṇa-* > *chaṇa-* S,M,G, but *khana-* d, j.

Sk. *mokṣa-* > *mocha-* S,M, but *mokha-* K,D,J.

Sk. *pakṣi-* > *pakhi-* PE.

2. Dentals : The following dentals, mostly in combination with y, are palatalised. We get a few instances of initial palatalisation also.

- (i) Dental t- is initially palatalised in the East in the presence of the palatal vowel i-.

Sk. *tiṣṭha-* > *√ciṭha-* M,K,D, but *√tiṭha-* S, *√tiṣṭa-* G.

- (ii) Cluster -ty- : It is mostly palatalised in the regions other than the Eastern, where it is dissolved into -tiy-.

Sk. *ātyayika-* > *acayika*, S,M, *atīyāyika-* K,D,J.

Sk. *satya-* > *saca-* PE, br, jtr, yr.

Sk. *adhikṛtya* > *adhigicya* bh, *kaca-* G.

- (iii) Cluster -ts- (or -tsy-) : The cluster -ts- is palatalised in the West and the South but assimilated to s elsewhere.

Sk. *saṁvatsarā-* > *saṁvachala-* s, -chara- ru, br, sd, jtr, kpb, yr.

Sk. *cikitsā-* > *cikīcha-* G, *cikisā-* S,M,K,D,J.

But when the cluster -ts- does not occur in the body of the word but is due to the combination of consonants, it is assimilated to s everywhere.

Sk. *ut-sāha-* > *usāha-* PE.

Sk. *ut-sṛta-* > *usata-* S,M,G,D,J, *uṣaṭa-* K.

The cluster -tsy- > -ch- in PE.

Sk. *matsya-* > *macha-* PE.

- (iv) Cluster -dy- is however, generally palatalised everywhere.

Sk. *adyā* > *aja* S,M,G,K,D,J.

Sk. *prati-√pad-ya* > *(paṭi-)pajantu* PE.

But when the cluster -dy- does not occur in the body of the word it is assimilated to y.

40. See HULTZSCH p. LXXI and J. BLOCH, *L'Indo-Aryan*, p. 72. Similar palatalisation of -k- in the suffix is observed a little later in the word *devadattikya* in the *Devadattikya* inscription at Rāmagarh (Dist. Sirguja, Chhota Nagpur Division).

41. It is found in the form *ch* in the *Niṣya Prakṛit* cf. BUDDE, p. 42.

42. The exceptional cases are *khuda-* or *ḥyda-* S, M, *chara-* K etc. (< Sk. *adhyaṣa-*), and *saṁkhita-* (< Sk. *saṁkṣipta-*, G 'h').

Sk. *ud-yāna* > *uyāna*- S,M,G,K,D,J.

Sk. *ud-yāma* > *uyāma*- K.

(v) Cluster *-dhy-* is palatalised to *-jh-* in all regions. But the cluster *-dh-y-* is palatalised only in the West (and North-West).

Sk. *madhyamā* > *majhama*- G, *majhima*- K,d,j,PE.

Sk. **nidhyapti* > *nijhali*- Major RE, *ni\jhapa*- PE.

But Sk. *a-vadh-yā* > *avadhīya*- T,Mi,Ksb, *avadhya*- T,Rdh,Mth,Rp.

Rk. *adh-y-akṣa* > *-(a)jhakha*- G, *-(a)jhacha*- M, but *-(a)dhiyakha*- K, *-(a)dhiyacha*- S.

(vi) For the palatalisation of nasals *y* and *ṇ* see below under the treatment of clusters *yy* and *ṇy*, §49 and §50.

(vii) Sibilant *ś*¹³ > *c*- in a few cases in the East and thence in the Centre and the South.

Sk. *√śak*- > *√caka*- d,j,s,b,Kpb, but *√saka*- elsewhere.

§ 38. Cerebralisation :

By the law of cerebralisation dentals are turned into cerebrals mostly in the presence of *r*, vocalised or unvocalised, sometimes with a sibilant, and in very few cases even without any influence. It will be observed that the Western dialect is the least affected by cerebralisation.

1. Cerebralisation of the dental *t* : It is generally cerebralised in regions other than the West.

(i) Change *-(r)t-* > *-t-* :

Sk. *kṛtā* > *kaṭa*- S,M,K,D,PE,MRE, but *kata*- G.

Sk. *bhṛta* > *bhaṭa*- S,M,K,D, but *bhata*- G.

Sk. *nīrvṛtta* > *nīvuṭa*- S,M.

(ii) Change *-rt-* > *-t-* :

Sk. *kārtavya* > *kaṭava*- or *kaṭaviya*- S,M,K,D,J,PE,MRE, but *katavya*- G.

Sk. *kīrti* > *kīṭi*- M,D,J, *kītri*- S, but *kīli*- G,K.

By way of exception *-rt-* > *-t-* in G in the word *saṃvaṭa* < Sk. *saṃvarta*-

(iii) Change *-(ṛ-)t-* > *-t-* :

Sk. *prati* > *paṭi*- in all versions including G, though G gives *prati*- about four times.

(iv) Change *st* > *th* occurs very rarely, for usually it is assimilated to *th*.

Sk. *stambha* > *thabha*- ru, but *-thabha*- or *-thambha*- T,ru,s.

Sk. *āśvasta* > *asvaṭha*- Mi(once), but *asvatha*- PE.

Sk. *anuśasti* > *anusatṭhi*- K, So, but *-anusatṭhi*- K,D,J,T, *anusatṭi*- and *-sasti*- G, *-anuśasti*- C,M. Thus here in G, *t* in combination with *s* is cerebralised to *-st-* (cf. the change *-sth-* > *-st-* in G below).

2. Cerebralisation of the dental *th* : It is normally not cerebralised in the West except when the dental is combined with a sibilant.

43. Initial palatalisation of *s* > *ch-* is perhaps instanced in Sk. *saṃvatsarā* > *chava-chara*- at ru. This change is due to assimilation. But HULTZCH and THOMAS consider this form to be a mistake for *savochara*-, which occurs in the other MIRE. Earlier this form was derived by scholars from Sk. *ṣaṭ-vatsara*-.

- (i) Change
- rth-*
- >
- {h-*
- :

Sk. *ārtha-* > *a{ha-* S,K,D,J,PE and MRE, but *atha-* G,S,M,K,J.

- (ii) Change
- (r-)th-*
- >
- {h-*
- :

Sk. *nirgrantha-* > *nigani{tha-* T.

- (iii) Change
- sth*
- >
- {h*
- or
- s{*
- (in G) in a few cases ; otherwise the cluster is assimilated to
- th*
- .

Sk. *sthitika-* > *{hitika-* M,K,D,J,Ksb,MRE, but *-thitika-* S,T,Mi,Rdh,
Mth, sc.

Sk. *sthitā-* > *s{ita-* G.

Sk. *anasthika-* (or *an-āsthika-*) > *ana{hika-* PE, but *anathika-* Ksb.

3. Cerebralisation of the dental *d* :

- (i) Cluster
- rd-*
- is never assimilated to a cerebral.

Sk. *mārdava-* > *mādava-* G,K,T.

Sk. *cāturdaśa-* > *cāvudasa-* PE.

- (ii) Change
- (r-)d-*
- >
- ḍ-*
- :

Sk. *tri-daśa-* > *triḍaśa-* M, but *tidaśa-* S, *tedasa-* K,D.

- (iii) Change
- d(r)-*
- >
- ḍ-*
- :

Sk. *idṛśa-* > *heḍisa-* K, but *hedisa-* S,K,D,sn, *ediśa-* S.M.

- (iv) Change
- d(-r)-*
- >
- ḍ-*
- :

Sk. *udāra-* > *uḍāla* or *uḍāra-* MRE.

- (v) Change
- d-*
- >
- ḍ-*
- in numerals (other than
- tri-daśa*
-).

Sk. *dvādaśa-* > *duvāḍasa-* K,PE,MRE, *duvaḍaśa-* (also *-dasa-*) M, but
duvāḍasa- D,J.

Sk. *pañcadaśa-* > *pañmaḍasa-* and *-lasa-* PE, *pañcadasa-* Ksb.

4. Cerebralisation of the dental *dh* : In combination with *r* it is generally not cerebralised in the West. But it is cerebralised under the influence of *ṣ*.

- (i) Change
- (r)dh-*
- >
- ḍh-*
- :

Sk. *vṛddhi-* > *vaḍhi-* Major RE, PE, ru, but *vadhi-* G.

Sk. *vṛddhā-* > *vuḍha-* So, S,D,J, *vudha-* K, *vudhra-* M.

- (ii) Change
- rdh-*
- >
- ḍh-*
- :

Sk. *dyardha-* > *diyaḍha-* M,K, *diadha-* S, *diyaḍhiya-* MRE.

Sk. *vardh-* > *vaḍha-* Major RE, PE, MRE, but *√vadha-* G,M,
vadhita- K, *vadhrita-* M (< Sk. *vardhita-*).

- (iii) Change
- (ṣ)dh-*
- >
- ḍh-*
- :

Sk. *auśadhā-* > *oṣuḍha-*⁴⁴ S, *asuḍha-* G, but *osadha-* K,D,J.

5. Cerebralisation of the dental *n* : This nasal is usually well preserved in all positions and in all versions. It is, however, initially changed to *ṇ-* only in the Kopbal version and perhaps once in the Jaugada separate edict. In the intervocal position its cerebralisation is met with usually in the West and the North-West.

Sk. *nó* > *ṇó* Kpb, but *no* elsewhere.

44. Prof. TURNER would like to derive these forms from **osṛdha*. The presence of the cerebral in the Girnar version and that of dental in the Dhauli and Jaugada versions precludes such derivation, for as has been noted above the dentals after *ṣ* generally not cerebralised in G, but they regularly undergo this change in the East.

Sk. *nī-√'dhyā-* > *nī-√'jhapa-* j, but *nī-√'jhapa-* PE, and *nījhati-* MRE,
 Sk. *dāśana* > *dasapa-* G, *dasana-* G,K,D,J,S, *draśana-* M.

Sk. *prā-√'āp-nu-* > *prā-√'papa-* G,S, *pā-√'pana-* K,d,j.

Sk. *mānuśa-* > *mānusa-* Kpb, other version give form with dental -n-.

Sk. *idānim* > *dāni* Kpb, but *dāni* ru, mk, yr.

In Sk. the dental -n- of the termination, becomes -n- after r or s. This -n- is replaced by the dental -n- in all versions except the e in the Mysore group and the one at Kopbal in the South⁴⁵ and rarely in j in the East.

Sk. *putrēṇa* > *putena* or *putrena* Major RE.

Sk. *lipikarēṇa* > *lipikarena* Mysore group.

Sk. *rāṣṭrāṇi* > *raṣṭrāṇi* Kpb.

Sk. *sātreṇa* > *sareṇā* j, but *sarena* d, j.

In a few cases the dental is cerebralised even when Sk. does not require it.

Sk. *loṅkikena* > *loṅkikena* j.

Sk. *Devānām-* > *Devānam-* br, jtr, Kpb and S (once), but *Devānam-* yr, sd and in other versions.

Also cf. *adhakīyāni* and *sātrekāni* at Kpb.

6. Cerebralisation of clusters with nasals. Such cerebralisation is met with in very few cases.

(i) Cerebralisation of -ny- > -ṇ- is an exceptional characteristic of the Mānsehrī version.

Sk. *anyā-* > *aṇa-* M, other versions (including M) give forms with -n- or -ñ-.

Sk. *√man-ya-* > *√maṇa-* M, other versions have -n- or -ñ-.

(ii) Cerebralisation of the cluster *jñ* is observed in two distant regions viz. the North-West and the South.

Sk. *ā√jñā-pa* > *ā√ṇāpa-* S,M,br, other versions have -n- or -ñ-.

§ 39. Treatment of final consonants : Consonants in their final position are generally dropped in Aś. inscriptions as in other Prakrits. Thus the abl. sg. term. of mas. and neut. nouns in -a is -ā < -āt.

Also note the following :

Sk. *yāvat* > *yāva* S, PE, *āvā* Major and Pillar edicts.

Sk. *bhavat* > *bhave* G.

Sk. *punar* > *punā* S,M,G,K, *pana* S,M,D,J.

Sk. *syāt* > *siyā* K,d,j,PE, MRE, *siya* S,M,j,PE.

Sk. *manāk* > *minā* PE.

It will be noticed that the final vowel if short is sometimes lengthened and vice versa. (Also cf. the treatment of the final vowels).

The word *palisā* < Sk. *parīśad* occurs in K,D,J. HULTZSCH quotes this as an

45. This is HULTZSCH's reading. Others read *nī-*; also cf. TURNER, *Gaṛimath Inscr.* p. i, f. note 3.

46. As an exception the dental -ñ- is preserved in such cases as Khudakena (-ḍa- kpb), *pakamāṇīnena* (-ṇena kpb).

47. A few consonants at the end are, however, preserved in Saṁdhi. cf. Sk. *evam* + *api* > *evampai* G. Sk. *evam* + *eva* > *evameva* S, M, K, *hemeva* d, j, PE, br, sd, jtr. Sk. *etad* + *artha-* > *etdatha-* T.

example of the lengthening of the final vowel due to the loss of the final consonant. TURNER objects to this explanation and points out that *pariṣad* first changes to *palisa*, and then *palisā* in conformity with the existing fem. endings.⁴⁸

Since the final consonants are dropped, the final *-m* and *-n* are also dropped in these inscriptions and then the preceding vowels are nasalised.

Sk. *dānam* > *danam* Major Rock and Pillar Edicts.

Sk. *dharmam* > G,K,D,*dhramam* S.M.

But this anusvāra at the end is not always represented in writing. Thus we get such forms as *dana* S,M, *dharmma* j, *kalarya* G, etc.

§ 40. Nasalisation :

Sometimes a nasal is introduced in some words in these inscriptions in order to mark the doubling of the following consonant when the preceding vowel is shortened.

Sk. *trīṇi* > *linni* K,D,J,PE, but *lin* M,K.

Sk. $\sqrt{bhū-}$ > *ahūnsu* G.

Sk. *śūśrūṣā-* > *susuṃsā-* G.

Sometimes a nasal is introduced in order to break hiatus.

Sk. *anya-anya-* > *añam-añña-* G, *añam-aña-* S, *ainnam-ana-* K.

In certain cases, however, it is introduced without any apparent reason.

Sk. *prakṛti-* > *paṃkiti-* sd, but *pakiti-* br, sd, jtr.

Sk. *ri\śras-* > *ri\samvrasa-* sn.

Sk. **niṣṭiṣṭakā-*⁴⁹ > *nimsiḍhayā-* PE.

Sk. *yāvat* > *avam* K.

Sk. *ca* > *cam* bh.

Sk. *pāratika-* > *pālantikya-* K (HULTZSCH's reading).

Sk. *mīśadava-* > *mīsamīdeva-* s (HULTZSCH's reading).

III. CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 41. The clustered consonants are assimilated or dissolved through many a process in MIA in general. Aśokan inscriptions prove no exception to this general treatment adopted by other MIA languages, except that a few clusters and especially those formed with *-r-* are preserved mostly in the North-West and the West. This North-Western characteristic is apparent even today in the group of Dardic languages.⁵⁰ Space forbids here an elaborate treatment of all clusters in the Aśokan inscriptions.⁵¹ Hence only the treatment of important clusters is discussed below, omitting such clusters as exemplify normal assimilation. The process of palatalisation and cerebralisation in clusters is already discussed above §§ 37, 38.

§ 42. Clusters with Stops : Under this head we will specially consider clusters formed with semi-vowels and sibilants + stops.

1. *r* + stops : The following remark by HULTZSCH must be noted before we actually come to deal with the clusters. "As at Gīrnar there is (in S,M) some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants. "The order of the

48. BSOS 4.364.

49. For this form see LÜDERS, SPAW, 1914, 852 ; for the change *śl* > *nis* cf. PISCHEL, Gr §74.

50. Cf. GRIERSON, JRAS 1904. 725-31.

51. For this cf. BDCRI 3.270 ff.

symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations (BÜHLER, *ZDMG* 43.133)". Thus *ṛ* is sometimes combined with the preceding akṣara or is attached to the following consonant. But "it must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation."⁵²

Therefore in the following examples whether the letter *ṛ* occurs with the preceding syllable or the following consonant, its presence in the word is to be regarded as an illustration of the preservation of the original Sk. conjunct.

As noted above the clusters with *ṛ* + stops are as a rule assimilated in all versions except those in the North-West. Below are mentioned a few examples to show the preservation in the North-West.

Sk. *vārga* > *vaga*- K.D.J. *varga*- S.M.

Sk. *svargā* > *svaga*- G.K.D.J.MRE. *ṣvarga*- S.M.

Sk. *garbhāgāra* > *gabhāgāra*- or *-la*- G.K.D.J. *grabhiagara*- S.M.

(For the special treatment of *ṛ* + dentals cf. above cerebralisation § 38).

2. *ṣ* + stops : In the cluster *-ṣṭ-* the unaspirated surd is aspirated in assimilation. The cluster *-ṣṭh-* is preserved only in the West in the form *-st-*. The cerebral articulation is sometimes lost in the treatment of this cluster.

Sk. *aṣṭamī* > *cṭhamī*- PE. *aṭha*- S.M.K.

Sk. *vyuṣṭa* > *vyāṭha*- ru and yr. *vyūtha*, br. *vīvūtha*- s.

Sk. *śreṣṭha* > *seṭha*- S.M. *seṭha*- K. but *seṣṭa*- G.

Sk. *ṣṭiṣṭh* > *ṣṭiṭha*- S. *ṣṭiṭha*- M.K.D. but *ṣṭiṣṭa*- G.

In the case of *ṣ* + *k*, the resulting form appears without aspiration.

Sk. *duṣṣṭa* > *dukaṭa*- S.M.K.D. *dukata*- G.

Sk. *duṣṭara* > *dukara*- S.M.G. *dukala*- K.D.J.

3. *s* + stops : The cluster *-st-* is preserved in S.M.G. but assimilated to *-th-* elsewhere. The cluster *-sth-* is, however, preserved only in the West. (For cerebralisation see above § 38).

Sk. *hastin* > *hasti*- S.M.G. *hathi*- K.D.Yr.

Sk. *gṛhastha* > *gahastha*- M.K. *grahastha*- S. *gihastha*- T. but *gharasta*- G.

In the treatment of the cluster *-śṣ-*, aspiration appears only in the West.

Sk. *śkaṇḍhā* > *-khaṇḍa*- G (perhaps due to metathesis of aspiration), but *-kaṇḍha*- S.M.K.D.

§ 43. Clusters with *y* : Such clusters are either assimilated, preserved or dissolved. The regional distinction, wherever possible, is noted below.

1. Clusters with stop + *y* : In spite of numerous exceptions, it may be said that the cluster is normally assimilated in the West and the North-West, dissolved in the East and sometimes preserved in the South and the Centre.

(i) *-ky-* > *-k-*, *-ky-* or *-kiy-* :

Sk. *śakya* > *śaka*- S. *saka*- G, sd. mk. *sakya*- br. sd. *cakya*- b. *sakiya*- J. ru. sn. yr. *cakiya*- d. j. Kpb.

(ii) *-khy-* > *-kū-*, *-khy-* or *-khiy-*

⁵² HULTZSCH, p. lxxxvii. Doubts on this opinion have been already expressed by GRIERSON, cf. *JRAS* 1913. 682-83, and recently by S. N. SEN, *Kene Comm.* Vol. pp. 417-19.

Sk. *múkhyā* > *mukhā*- S,M,K,T, *mokhya-* d,PE, *mokhiya-* j.

(iii) -gy- > -giy-, -gy- or -k- (< -g-):

Sk. *ārogya-* > *ārogiya-* br, sd, but *āroka-* yī.

Sk. *yugya-* > *yūgya-* yr.

(iv) For dentals + *y* see above palatalisation § 37.

The treatment of the cluster *dvy-* > *diy-* (or *dia-* due to loss of -y-), may, however, be noted here.

Sk. *dvyardha-* > *diyaḍka-* M, K, *diyaḍhiya-* MRE, *diadha-* S.

(v) -bhy- > -bh-, -bhy-, -bhīy-:

Sk. *ibhya-* > -*ibha-* S,K, -*ibhya-* M, -*ibhiya-* D,J.

Sk. *ā√īābh-ya-* > *ārabharc* G, *ārabhisu* M, *ālabhiya-* K,D,J and *arabhiya-* S,M.

2. Cluster *ry*: The cluster is assimilated to -y- or dissolved by svarabhakti. It may be noted that this cluster as well as the following *ly* are more or less regularly preserved in the Nīya Prakrit cf. BURROW, § 42.

Sk. *mārya-* or -*ārya-* > *maya-* S,M,G,K,D, *aya-* everywhere, but *aliya-* bh.

Sk. *mādhurya-* > *madhuriya-* S,M, *mādhakya-* K,D,J.

Sk. *ācārya-* > *ācariya-* br, sd,jtr, yī.

Sk. *sārya-* > -*sūriyika-* sc, -*suliyika-* T.

3. Cluster *ly*: It is assimilated to -l- in the West and the North, to -y- in the East, Centre and the North.

Sk. *kalyāṇā-* > *kalāṇa-* S,M,G, *kayana-* M, *kyāṇa-* K,D,J.

4. Cluster *vy*: It is assimilated to *v* in the North West, Centre and the East (and sometimes in the South and the Centre) and dissolved by svarabhakti in the other regions.

Sk. *vyañjana-* > *vañana-* S, *viyajana-* M, *vayajana-* ru, *vyañjana-* G.

Sk. *vyuṣṭa-* > *vivutha-* s, but *vyūṭha-* br, sd, jtr, yī.

Sk. *kārtavya-* > *kaḷava-* S, *kaṭaviya-* MKD,J, *katavya-* G.

5. Sibilant + *y*: It is generally assimilated to -ś- or -ṣ-.

Sk. *pratiśeṣya-* > -*veṣya-* S,M, -*ṣeṣya-* br, sd, jtr, yī.

Sk. *dūṣya-* > *dusa-* sn, sc, kb

Sk. *ālasya-* > *ālasiya-* d, but *āḷasya-* j.

Sk. *īrṣyā-* > *iśā-* d, j, but *īṣyā-* T.

Sometimes the change -sy- > -ṣ- is observed in the future term.

Sk. *ārabhiṣyanti* > *arabhiṣa-* S,M

Sk. *manuṣya-* > *maruṣa-* S,M

§ 44. Clusters with *r*: Such clusters are found in the North-West and the West (and rarely in the Centre and the East) medially.

53. Cf. however Sk. *īrṣyā-* > *iśā-* d, j, but *īṣyā-* T.

54. For similar changes see also Sk. *manuṣya-* > *maruṣa-* S,M

1. Gutturals + *r* :

Sk. *ati*√*kram*- > *ati*√*kama*- K,D,J,T, but *ati*√*krama*- S,M,G. G has *atikāta*- and *parikama*- also.

Sk. *cakravāka*- > *cakavāka*- PE.

Sk. *prakrānta*- > *pakamta*- MRE.

Sk. *agra*- > *aga*- K,D,J,G,PE, *agra*- S,M.

2. Dentals + *r* : The cluster is sometimes preserved even in the South.

Sk. *trī*, *trīṇi* > *lini* or *linni* M,K,D,J,PE, *lī* G, but *trayo* S and *trī* G,

Sk. *putrā*- > *pūta*- G,K,J,T,sc, *putra*- S,M,G.

Sk. *tātra* > *tata* G,K,d,j,T,s, *tatrā* G,S,M.

Sk. √*dṛh*- > *drahitavya*- > *drahyitavya*- br, sd, jir.

Sk. *ardhatrika*- > *aḍhāṭiya*- MRE.

3. Labials + *r* : Here the cluster is sometimes preserved even in the Central and Southern division.

Sk. *prajā*- > *pajā* K,D,J,PE, *prajā*, S,M,G.

Sk. *prakāśa*- > *prakāsa*- ru.

Sk. *prasāda*- > *prasāda*- S,M,G,bh, *paśāda*- K.

Sk. *prakrānta*- > *prakamta*-⁵⁵ br, *pakamta*- ru, sd, Kpb, yr (*pakata*-).

Sk. *prāṇā*- > *prāṇa*- G,S, yr, *prana*- M, *pāna*- elsewhere.

But cf. *pr*- > *p*- in G and M.

Sk. *prakaraṇa*- > *pakaraṇa*- G,M, *pakalana*- K,D, also *prakaraṇa*- S,G.

The clusters *br*- and *bhr*- almost follow the usual tendencies.

Sk. *brāhmaṇa*- > *brāhmana*- S,M, *baṇbhana*- So,K.

bābhana- D,J,T, *bamaṇa*- M, *bāmhaṇa*- G.

Sk. *bhrātṛ*- > *bhrātra*- G, *bhrata*- S,M, *bhata*- K,D,J,M.

4. Cluster *vr* : It is preserved only in the North-West.

Sk. *vraja*- > *vraca*- S,M, *vaca*- G,K,D,J.

Sk. *pravrajita*- > *pravrajita*- S,M, *pavajita*- G,K,T.

5. Clusters with sibilant + *r* : They are regularly preserved in S,M, and sometimes in G ; other versions assimilate it to the sibilant.

Sk. √*śru*-ṇu- > √*śruṇa*- S,M, √*sruṇa*- G, √*ṣuna*- K, √*su*- K,T,bh,d,j, √*sāvāpa*- T,br,sd.

Sk. *sahāsra*- > *sahasra*- S,M,G, *sahasa*- S,⁵⁶D,J,PE.

Sk. *parīśrava*- > *parisrava*- S,G, *-parisava*- M, *-palisava*- D,J, (*-lā*- K).

Sk. *miśrā*- > *misa*- MRE.

§ 45. Clusters with *v* :

1. Clusters with stops + *v* in the initial position are dissolved and in the medial position assimilated in the non-Western regions. They are preserved in all positions only in the West with these phonetic changes, that *tv* > *tp* and *dv* > *db*.

Sk. *kvāpi* > *kuvāpi* K.

Sk. *dvī*- > *duvi* S, *duve* M,K,J, *duvehi* T, *dve* or *dvo* G.

Sk. *dvādaśā* > *duvaḍaśa*- M, *duvādasa*- D,J, *-ḍasa*- K,PE,bb, *badaya*- S, *dbādasa*- G.

55. HULTZSCH's reading.

56. Thus *sahasa*- in S and *parisava*- in M are exceptions.

- Sk. *catvāraḥ* > *cature* S, *catāli* K (> Sk. *catvāri*), *catpāro* G.
 Sk. absolutive term. *-tvā* > *-tu* S,M,K,D,J,PE, *-tpā* G.
 Sk. *śāḍ-viṃśati* > *saḍuvīsati* PE.

2. Semivowel $r + v$: The cluster is generally preserved in the West and the North-West, but dissolved or assimilated elsewhere.

- Sk. *sārva-* > *sava-* in all versions, *sarva-* G, *savra-* S,M.
 Sk. *pūrva-* > *-puva-* G, *-puluva-* K,D,J, *-pruva-* S,M,G.

3. Sibilant $+ v$: The cluster in the initial position is preserved in the West and the North-West⁵⁷ (in the form *sp*), and it is either assimilated or dissolved by svarabhakti elsewhere.

- Sk. *svāmi-ka-* > *svāmika-* G, *spamika-* S,M, *suvāmika-* K,D,J.
 Sk. *śvetā-* > *sveta-* G, *sela-* PE.

In *svaga-* (< Sk. *svargā-*), however, it is initially preserved in all versions.⁵⁸ (*spagra-* S,M).

In the intervocal position it is preserved everywhere.

- Sk. *śāśvatā-* > *sasvata-* d,j.
 Sk. *āsva-* > *asva-* PE.

§ 46. Clusters with sibilants :

1. For the treatment of *kṣ* and *ts* see above palatalisation §37.
2. $r +$ sibilant : Whereas S,M,G, preserve the cluster, others assimilate it to the sibilant.

- Sk. *dārsana-* > *dasana-* G,Sò,K,D,J, *drāsana-* S,M, *darsana-* G.
 Sk. *-darśin-* > *-dasi-* G,K,D,J,PE, bh, bb, *-draśi-* S,M, *-drasi-* G.

3. Clusters with h :

Almost everywhere the cluster *-rḥ-* is dissolved by the addition of the vowel *a*.

- Sk. *garhā*, *garhaṇā* > *garahā* G,M, *galahā* K, $\sqrt{\text{garaha}}$ S,M,G, but *garana-* S.

- Sk. *yathārha-* > *yathāraha-* br,sd,jtr.

§ 47. Clusters with nasals : Such clusters are usually assimilated to the nasal or to the stop and then the nasal is turned into anusvāra. This anusvāra, however, is not always represented in writing. The clusters with \tilde{n} , η , n and m show some peculiarities and only these are detailed below.

§ 48. Clusters with the nasal \tilde{n} :

1. $j\tilde{n}$: The cluster is usually assimilated to \tilde{n} in the West, North-West,⁵⁹ and South, and to n in the East and the Centre. (For cerebralisation see above §38).

- Sk. *jñāti-* > *nāti-* G,br,sd,jtr, *nāti-* K,D,J,PE.
 Sk. *viññapti-* > *vinati-* kq, $\sqrt{\text{vinñapa}}$ sn.

In the declined forms of *rājan-* the cluster is sometimes dissolved by svarabhakti.

- Sk. *rājñā* > *rāñā* S,G, *rājina* M,So, *lājina* K,D,J,rm,ng,bh.

2. $\tilde{n}c$: It is represented as *-ñc-* or *-ñn-* in the numeral.

- Sk. *pañca-* > *pañca-* S,M,G,K,D,J,ksb, *pañna-* PE.

57. The cluster $\tilde{s}v$ > $\tilde{s}p$ and sv > $\tilde{s}v$ or $\tilde{s}p$ in the Niya Prakrit cf. BURROW, §49.

58. In s 1.4, however, HULTZSCH reads *suaga-*.

59. $j\tilde{n}$ > \tilde{n} (or n) in the Niya Prakrit, cf. BURROW § 44.

3. *ñj* : It is generally represented as *-ñj-* or *-j-*, but in the North-West it is assimilated to *ñ*.⁶⁰

Sk. *vyañjana-* > *vyañjana-* G, *viyañjana-* K,D,J,sn. *vayajana-* ru, *viyajana-* M, *vañana-* S.

§ 49. Clusters with the nasal *ṇ* :

1. *ṇṇ* : In its assimilation the cerebral articulation is preserved in the Mysore group but it is lost in PE.

Sk. *suvārṇa-* > *suvanṇa-* br,sd.

Sk. *pūrṇá-* > *punṇa-* PE.

2. *-kṣṇ-* > *-khin-* : Sk. *ślakṣṇá-* > *sakhina-* d, Sk. *abhīkṣṇa-* > *abhikhīṇa-* bh.

3. *ṇy* : In the North-West and the West the cluster is assimilated to *ñ* (but in G also to *n*), but elsewhere to *n*.

Sk. *apunya-* > *apuñā-* S,M, *apuniñā-* G, *apuna-* K.

Sk. *hiraṇya-* > *hirañna-* G,So, *hilañna-* K,D,J.

§ 50. Clusters with *n* : The only important cluster to note is *ny*. Other clusters with *n* are assimilated to the stop (as in Sk. *agni-* > *agi* M,K,D,G) or dissolved (as in Sk. *pra√āp-nu-* > *pāpuna-* or *-ṇa-* G,S,K,D,j, or *praśná-* > *-pasina-* bh).

1. *ny* : It is assimilated to *ñ* in the West and North-West,⁶¹ but to *n* elsewhere (for cerebralisation see above § 38).

Sk. *anyá-* > *añā-* S,M,G,So, *añna-* K,D,J,PE, *ana-tra* M, *aṇa-* M.

Sk. *√manya-* > *√mañā-* S,M,G, *√mana-* K,d,j, (*√maṇa-* M).

§ 51. Clusters with *m* :

1. *-tm-* : Except in the West and the South where it is preserved as *-tṭp-*, it is normally assimilated to *t*.

Sk. *ātmán-* > *ata-* S,M,K,d,j,PE, *ātpā* G, *mahātpā* br,sd,yr. Kōpāl though in South gives *mahata-*.

2. *-sm-*⁶² (or *-ṣm-*) : Note the following interesting treatments. It is either preserved (as *sm* or *sp*) or assimilated to *mh* or *s*. In the pronominal forms it usually becomes *-ph-*.

Sk. *akasmāt* > *akasmā* d,j.

Sk. loc. sg. *-smīn* > *-mhi* G, *-spi* S,M, *-si* elsewhere.

Sk. *tasmāt* > *taphā* K.

Vedic *asme* > *aphe* d,j, similarly **tuṣmat-* > *tupha-* d,j,ru,sn,yr.

In the grammatical form *asmi* initial *a-* is lost and then the cluster is dissolved.
cf. *sumi* ru, s, mk, Kpb.

3. *-hm-* : The following forms may be noted.

Sk. *brāhmaṇá-* > *bramaṇa-* S,M, *brahmaṇa-* G, *bāmhaṇa-* G, *bañbhana-* So,K,yr, *bābhana-* K,D,J,T.

4. *-my-* : It is sometimes preserved.

Sk. *samyak* > *sañma-* S, but *sañmyā-* D,J, *samyā-* K, *samya-* G,M.

60. Precisely the same tendency is observed in the Niya Prakrit documents and the process is most regular in the *Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada*, cf. BURROW, §45.

61. The same treatment is also found in the Niya Prakrit, cf. BURROW, §41.

62. The cluster *-sm-* > *-s-* in the loc. term. or is preserved in the Niya Prakrit, cf. BURROW, §49.

5. *-mr-* : As is well known, it becomes *-mb-*.

Sk. *āmra-* > *ambā-* PE.

Sk. *Tāmrāparnī-* > *Tambapānni-* S,M,G,K,J, -*pāni-* M.

MORPHOLOGY

I. DECLENSION

(A) NOUNS :

§ 52. The complex declensional system of the OIA is much simplified in these inscriptions by the well-known processes which were active in the MIA period. Thus, for example, the dual is altogether lost and the consonantal bases are mostly transferred to the vowel bases. On the other hand in endings we do not yet meet with the same variety of forms which are so widely used in the later literary Prakrits. The geographical distinction in the declensional system of these inscriptions, especially between the East and the West, is noted below in all such cases which admit of such distinction. Exceptions to these generalisations, whenever they occur, are also recorded in each case.

§ 53. Mas. and Neut. Nouns ending in *-a*.

(i) Nom. sg. Mas : principally ends in *-a* and *-e*. Of these, the former is more frequently used than the latter in G,S,M and the latter in K,D,J,PE and MRE.

jano G,S, jane K,M,D,J,T, athe MRE.

(a) The ending *-o* is, however, sometimes found in the East and *-e* in the West and North-West cf. *rājuke*, *sakale*, etc. in G, *jane*, *vivade*, etc. in S,M, and *Keralaputo* in K, *seto* in D.

(b) The ending *-a* (the original *-s* in *-as* being dropped) is of rare occurrence. cf. *jana* S, *vadhā* K, [*saṃpā*]*tipāda* d, and *yāvataka* ru.

(c) The foreign name *Amitekina-* in G ends in *-a*, but it ends in *-i* at S. The other name *Maga-* ends in *-ā* in G and K.

(ii) Acc. sg. Mas. : ends in *-am* or *-a* (with the loss of final anusvāra) everywhere.

janam G,PE, *dhramam* or *jana* S, *dhammam* K,D,J, *samgham* MRE.

(a) In S,-M we sometimes get the ending -o or -e. cf. *dhramo*, and *sayame*.

(b) In K exceptionally the ending $-\bar{a}$ is found. cf. *ata-pāsādā*,

(iii) Nom. Acc. sg. Neut : These nouns end in *-am* in G,S,M. In other edicts we get *-am* only for the acc. sg. whereas *-e* is found for nom. sg.

Nom. sg. *dānam* G,S,M, but *dāne* K,D,J,PE, *phale* MRE.

Acc. sg. *maṅgalam* D.J, *dānam* K,PE, *vipulam* MRE.

(a) In G,S,M, we get in a few cases the ending *-e* for nom. sg, as in the East and, in K,D,J,jtr, and yr, we get *-am* as in the West. cf. *śāma* G,S,M, *jīvam* K,D,J, *likhitam* jtr., *saca* and *kaṭaviya* (with the loss of final anusvāra) yr.

(b) In a few gerundives we have -o in S. cf. *lātaro*.

-(c) Sometimes we get $-\bar{a}$ for nom. sg. in K.D.J., cf. $\bar{a}dica$ K. $\bar{a}dica$ D.J.

(d) In d and K sometimes the acc. sg. also ends in *-e*, cf. *āmanne* d, *dāne* K.

(iv) Inst. sg. ends in *-ena* everywhere.

janena G, *putrena* S,M, *putena* D,J, *dharmena* PE, etc., *khudakena* K,D,J, MRE.

(a) The final *-na* is sometimes lengthened, cf. *bhayaṇā* PE, *-abhisitenā* MRE.

(b) Cerebralised term. occurs sometimes in the South. cf. *lipigareṇa* br,jtr, *mahateṇa* Kpb.

(v) Dat. sg. : ends in *-ya* in West, Centre, and South but *-ye* elsewhere.

athāya G, *kālāya* ru, *aṭhāya* ru,br,Kpb,yr, *aṭhāye* S,M,D,J,K,t.s.

(a) Once in G and T the dat. sg. ends in *-ā* cf. *athā.*⁶³

(vi) Abl. sg. : ends in *-ā* (*-a* in S,M) everywhere.

kapā G, *anubadhā* K, *mahatātā* MRE, *kaṛaṇa* S,M.

(a) The final vowel is sometimes shortened in D, cf. *anubadha*.

(vii) Gen. sg. : ends in *-sa* everywhere.

janasa G,S,M,K,D,J,PE, *Asokasa* mk, *pakamasa* MRE..

(a) Sometimes the final vowel is lengthened.

janasā K, *asvasā* T,Mi (but *asvasa* Rdh, Mth, Rp).

(viii) Loc. sg. : G gives the ending *-mhi* (< Sk. *-smin* of pronouns) and *-e*. In S,M, we get *-e*, and *spi* or *-si* (< Sk. *-smin*). The ending *-si* is the normal one in other edicts.

athamhi G, *orodhanaspi* S,M, *uṭhanasi* S,M, *aṭhasi* D,J, *janasi* PE, *Janibudīpasi* MRE, *kōle* G, *dhrame* S,M.

(a) Perhaps *-e* is found in *supiye* at bb.

(ix) Nom. pl. Mas. : ends in *-ā* everywhere (but represented as *-a*, in S,M).

morā G, *putā* K,D,J, *pulisā* PE, *devā* MRE, *putra* S,M.

(a) The final *-ā* is sometimes shortened cf. *nāṭikya* K, *lajūka* PE, *Anuvigina* d,j.

(b) T twice gives the ending *-āse* (< Vedic *-āsah*) cf. *viyāpaṭāse*.

(x) Acc. pl. Masc : The ending in G is *-e* but *-āni* in other edicts. This *-āni* ending is regarded as the peculiarity of the Ardha-Māgadhī dialect by LÜDERS (SPAW 1913.992 ff).

yute G, *kaṇdhāni* D,J, *pulisāni* PE, *banibhanāni* yr.

(a) *-āni* is noticed in G four times. cf. for instance *gharastāni*.

(xi) Nom. Acc. pl. neut. : ends in *-āni* everywhere.

rāṭpāni G,S,M, *phalāni* K, *vasāni* D,J, Mysore Gr.

(a) Sometimes we get the ending *-ā*, cf. *-darsaṇā* G, *lopāpitā* D,K, *hālāpitā* K, *lāti-satā* s,ru.

(b) The final vowel is once lengthened in Mi. cf. *haṇṭaviyānī*.

(c) Characteristically *-n-* > at Kpb. cf. *vasāni*, *adhattiyāni*.

(xii) Inst. pl. : ends in *-ehi* (< Vedic *-ebhih*).

satehi G,K, *jātehi* d,j, *devehi* MRE.

(xiii) Dat. pl. : ends in *-ehi*.

mahamatrehi M, *samanehi* D,J, *Ājivikehi* bb.

63. See Michelson, JAOS 31.240

(xiv) Gen. pl. : ends in *-nām* or *-na*.

thāīrānām G, *prañānām* S,M, *pūnānām* K,D,J.

śramañjana S,M, *-paśādāna* K.

(a) Rarely we get *-nām* or *-nā*.

bhūtānām G and *banibhanānā* K.

(xv) Loc. pl. : ends in *-su* everywhere (*-su* in S,M).

thāīresu G, *vaṣeṣu* S,M, *vasesu* K,D,J, *aṣhesu* PE, *parālesu* MRE, *prānesu* yr.

(a) Rarely the final vowel is lengthened in G cf. *pañthesū*.

§ 54. Fem. nouns ending in *-ā*.

(i) Nom. sg. : ends in *-ā* (represented as *-a* in S,M,) everywhere.

ichā G,S,M,K,PE, *pajā* D,J, *porānā* Mysore Group, yr.

(a) The final *-ā* is sometimes shortened in the East and Centre. *icha* D,J, *-lokika* K, *-apckha* PE.

(ii) Acc. sg. : ends in *-ām* with the final anusvāra sometimes dropped.

pujām G,M, *pajām* PE, *pujā* S,K,G, *paṭipadā* Mi(?).

(iii) Inst. sg. : ends in the East, Centre and the West in *-yā* and in the North and the North-West in *-ye*.

pujāyā G,PE, *isāya* D,J, *pujāye* S,M,K.

(iv) Dat., Abl., Gen. sg. : ends in *-ye*.

vihiṣāye (Dat.), *dakhināye* (Abl.), *dutiyaṣye* (Gen.) PE.

(v) Loc. sg. : ending in the East, Centre, South, and the West is *-yañ* but *-ye* in the North, North-West and the East.

gañanāyañ G, *Samāpāyañ* J, *Tisāyañ* T,Mi, *velāyañ* Kpb, *sañtiraṇaye* S,M, *sañtilanāye* K, *Tisāye* PE, *pājāye* D,J.

(a) The final anusvāra in *-yañ* is sometimes dropped.

sañtiraṇāya G, *sañtilanāya* D,J.

(vi) Nom. pl. : ends in *-ā* everywhere (*-a* S,M).

kalā G, *vaḍikyā* PE, *upāsikā* bh, *cikisa* S,M.

(a) Final *-ā* is once shortened in G. cf. *cikīcha*.

(b) G alone gives the additional ending *-āyo* (>*-āo* in Pkt. cf. PISCHEL G. §376). cf. *mahidāyo*.

(vii) Loc. pl. : ends in *-su* in PE. cf. *disāsu*.

§ 55. Mas. and Neut. Nouns ending in *-i*.

(i) Nom. sg. Mas. : ends in *-ī* in PE. cf. *vidhi*, *Sakyamunī*.

(ii) Nom. sg. Neut. : ends in *-i* in K. cf. *asamatī*.

(iii) Nom. pl. Mas. : ends in *-ī* in G and *-o* in S,M.

trī G, *trayo* S,M. (For long *-ī* cf. PISCHEL, Gr. §380).

(iv) Nom. Acc. pl. Neut : ends in *-ni* everywhere.

tiñni K,D,J,PE, *osadhīni* K.

(v) Gen. pl. : ends in *-nām* everywhere, but the final anusvāra is sometimes dropped.

nātinām G,S,M, *nātinām* K, *ñatina* S,M.

(a) The loss of final anusvāra results in the lengthening of preceding vowel in K. cf. *nātinā*.

(vi). Loc. pl. : ends in *-su* in the East and the West and *-ṣu* in the North and the North-West.

ñāṭisu G ; *nāṭisu* D,J ; *nābhāpaniṭṣu* M,K.

§ 56. Fem. nouns ending in *-ī*.

(i) Nom. sg. : Normally ending *-ī* appears in the West (and the South) and *-i* elsewhere.

lipī G ; *pakilī* Mysore Gr. (but *pakili* yr.), *lipi* K, *dipi* S,M, *vadhi* PE.

(a) Exchange of these endings is met with exceptionally, *apaciti* G ; *anusatti* D,J ; *gabhinī* PE.

(ii) Acc. sg. : ending *-im* appears in G and PE and *-i* in K,D,J,S,M,PE and MRE.

sambodhim G ; *lipim* sn., *sabodhi* S,M, *sambodhi* K,D,J, *vaḍhi* T,ru.

(a) As a result of the loss of final anusvāra the preceding vowel is lengthened in D,J, and PE.

kiī D,J ; *-anupaṭipatī* T. (HLZ's reading).

(b) Loss of anusvāra with short *-i* is an exception at G. cf. *kīti*, *chāti*, *vadhi*.

(iii) Inst. sg. : ending *-yā* is obtained in all versions and the final vowel is sometimes shortened in D,J and PE.

bhāṭiyā G,S,M,K ; *anusāṭhiyā* D,J,PE, *anāvūṭiya* D,J, **vaḍhiyā* PE.

(a) Ending *-ye* is sometimes found in K cf. *anusāṭhiye*.

(b) Ending *-nā* is obtained only at yr. cf. *bherinā*.

(iv) Dat. Sg. : The Western, North-Western and Northern ending is *-yā*. Ending *-ye* seems to be the Eastern one (its presence in S,M being perhaps due to the Eastern influence).

anusāṭṭiya G ; *vaḍhiyā* S,M,K ; *vaḍhiye* D,J ; *dhāṭiye* T, *anuśāṭṭiye* S,M.

(v) Abl. sg. : ends in *-yā* (represented as *-ye* in S,M).

nivūṭiyā K ; *nīphāṭiyā* D,J ; *nivūṭiya* S,M.

(vi) Gen. sg. : ends in *-ye* in PE. cf. *devīye* Kq.

(vii) Loc. sg. : ending *-yaṃ* occurs in D,J,PE, *-ya* in S,M, and *-ye* in K,D,J,PE.

puṭhaviyaṃ D,J ; *Kosambiyaṃ* PE ; *ayatiya* S,M ; *āyatiye* K,D,J ;

cātumāsiye PE.

(viii) Nom. pl. : ending *-yo* occurs in G,K, and *-ye* in bh ; the forms in S,M,D,J end in *-ī*.

aṭaviyo G ; *janiyo* K ; *bhikkuniye* bh ; *aṭavi*⁶⁴ S,M, *ithī* D,J.

(ix) Gen. pl. : ending *-naṃ* or *-nā*.

bhaginīnaṃ D,J ; *devinaṃ* T ; *bhaginīnā* K.

(x) Loc. pl. : ends in *-su*.

tīsu PE ; *pavatisu*⁶⁵ ru.

§ 57. Mas. and Neut. nouns ending in *-u*.

(i) Nom. sg. Mas. : ends in *-u* in all versions.

sādhū Major RE, *bhikkhu* Kb.

(a) It is, however, sometimes lengthened.

sādhū D,J, *bhikkhū* sn.

64. With this form HULTZSCH compares Pāli nom. pl. *rattī* of *ratti-* (< Sk. *rātri-*) p. xci.

65. For the fem. base *pavati* cf. BÖHTLINGK, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.

(ii) Nom. Acc. Neut. sg. : ends in -u everywhere.

bahu K,S,M,K,PE, *sādhū* D,J.

(iii) Loc. sg. : The form *bahune* in T is perhaps from the base *bahuna-*.

(iv) Nom. Acc. pl. Neut. : ends in -ni in all versions.

bahūni Major RE, PE.

(v) Inst. pl. : ends in -hi, cf. *bahūhi* Major RE.

(vi) Gen. pl. : ending -naṁ occurs in G,D,J,PE, -na in S,M, and -nā in K.

gurūnaṁ G, *gulūnaṁ* D,J, *bhikṣcnaṁ* sc, *gcruna* S,M, *gulunā* K.

(vii) Loc. pl. : ends in -su.

bahūsc d,j, *gclusc* PE, *garcsu* Mysore group, *garūsu* yr.

§ 58. Fem. nouns ending in -u :

(i) The nom. sg. of *sādhū* used as fem. is the same as that of Mas. and Neut.

in all versions.

§ 59. Mas. nouns ending in -ṛ : The base for the oblique cases ends either in -i

or -u. In such cases the Western version preserves the Sk. forms.

(i) Nom. sg. : ends in -ā in d and PE.

pitā d ; *apahaṭā* T.

(a) It is sometimes shortened to -a, cf. *pita* j and *apahaṭa* Rdh.

(ii) Inst. sg. : ends in -ā in the West ; but -nā (cf. -i and -u declension) in

other regions.

pitā, *bhātā* or *bhātrā* G ; *pituna* S,M, *pitinā* K,D,J.

(iii) Loc. sg. : ends in -i at G. cf. *pitari*.

(iv) Nom. pl. : ends in -o in S, -e in M,K, and -ī in D,J. (cf. -i declension).

nataro S ; *natare* M ; *matāle* K ; *natī* D,J.

(v) Gen. pl. : ends in -naṁ in K,D,J and -na in S,M.

bhāṭinaṁ K,D,J, *bhratuna* S,M.

(vi) Loc. pl. : ends in -su in all groups, but -ṣu in S,M (and K).

pitisu D,J,K,PE,br, *pitūsu* yr, jtr ; *pitūṣu* S,M, *pitīṣu* K.

§ 60. Fem. nouns ending in -ṛ.

(i) Gen. (dat.) sg. : ends in -u at Kq. cf. -mātu.

(ii) Loc. sg. : ends in -i at G. cf. *mātari*.

(iii) Gen. pl. : ends in -na in S,M. cf. *spasuna*.

§ 61. Bases ending in consonants : As in other Prakrits, such bases in these

inscriptions are brought over to the -a declension. Yet in some forms the Sk. con-

sonantal declension survives with the necessary phonetic changes.

§ 62. Present Participles ending in -at :

(i) Nom. sg. Mas. : ends in -uṁ or -u and -o in G ; in the East the ending is

-am⁶⁶ or -e of which the former is seen in other non-Western regions.

karuṁ, *karu* and *karoto* G ; *saṁtaṁ* S,M,K,D,J,PE, *kalaṁtaṁ* mk ;

mahaṁte D,J (following the -a declension).

(ii) Gen. sg. : ends in -sa in M. cf. *aśatasa*.

(iii) Nom. pl. Masc. : ends in -o in G ; and -ā (for -ā or -e) in s.

tiṣṭanto G ; *saṁta* s.

§ 63. Other basēs ending in -at :

66. Ending -am < Sk. -an. See HULTZSCH, p. lxxvii.

(i) Nom. sg. : ends in *-a* at K,S,M and Mth, in *-am* in other PE, and in *-e* at sn.

pajāva K, *prajava* S,M, *kiya* Mth ; *kiyam* other PE, *bhagavam* rm ;
āvate sn.

(ii) Inst. sg. ends in *-ā*. cf. *bhagavatā* bh ; *heturatā* K.

§ 64. Mas. nouns ending in *-am* :

(i) Nom. sg. : ends in *-ā* as in Sk.

rājā G,S,M ; *lājā* K,D,J,PE, MRE.

(a) It is optionally shortened in all versions and exceptionally at G.

Yona-rāja G ; *lāja* K,D,J,PE, MRE.

(ii) Acc. sg. : ends in *-am* cf. *atāman* d,j.

(iii) Inst. sg. : ends in *-ā* in all versions.

rānā G,S ; *rajina* M ; *lājina* K,D,J,MRE ; *atanā* PE(T,Ksb).

mahatpanā sd, yr.

(a) Final *-ā* is shortened in Rdh, Mth, Rp. cf. *atava*. It is shortened in Mysore group. Also cf. *mahātpana*. (But this seems to be due to transference to the *-a* declension, the base then being *mahātpha* < Sk. *mahātman*.)

(iv) Gen. sg. : Western ending is *-o* and Eastern *-e*.

rāno G,S ; *lajine* K,D,J ; *rajine* M.

(v) Nom. pl. : Western ending is *-o* and Eastern *-e*.

rājāno G,S ; *lājāne* K,D,J,PE.

(a) *-o* is found occasionally at K, cf. *lājāno*.

(b) The final vowel is changed to *-i* in S, cf. *rajani*.

(c) It follows *-a* declension only in Mysore group and ends in *-ā*.
cf. *mahātphā* br, sd. (cf. the above note on *mahātpana*).

(vi) Inst. pl. : ends in *-hi*. cf. *lājhi* PE.

§ 65. Neut. nouns ending in *-am* :

(i) Nom. sg. : ending in the North and N-West is *-am* but *-e* in the East.

kramam S,M ; *kaṁmam* K ; *kaṁme* D,J,K.

(ii) Acc. sg. : Eastern ending is *-am* which is presented with the loss of anusvāra in some of the versions.

kaṁmam D,J ; *nāma* Major RE and PE.

(a) The final *-a* is sometimes lengthened in K. cf. *nāmā*.

(iii) Inst. sg. : ends in *-na*. cf. *kaṁana* d,j.

(iv) Dat. sg. : North and N-West give *-ye*, and East gives *-ne*. (cerebralised to *-ne* in M according to HULTZSCH's reading).

kraṁmaye S ; *kaṁmāye* K, *kaṁmane* D,J ; *kramaṇe* M.

(v) Gen. sg. : ends in *-sa*. cf. *kaṁmasa* d,j.

(vi) Acc. pl. : ends in *-āni*. cf. *kaṁmāni* PE.

§ 66. Mas. nouns ending in *-as* :

(i) Nom. pl. : ends in *-ā* (cf. *-a* declen.) : *avimanā* PE.

§ 67. Neut. nouns ending in *-as* :

(i) Acc. sg. : ending *-o* occurs in the West and East alike, but *-e* occurs only in the non-Western area.

yaśo G,K,D,J ; *yaśo* S,M ; *bhuye* S,M,K,PE ; *daviye* d.

(a) Ending *-a* is noted in G, cf. *bhuya*.

§ 68. Mas. nouns ending in *-in* :

(i) Nom. sg. : ends in *ī* (short in the West and long in the East).

Piyadasi G,K,J,T,MiRdh,Mth,Rp, bh ; *Priyadraśi* S,M ; *Piyadasī* K,D,J, Ksb, bh.

(ii) Inst. sg. : ends in *-ā* in all versions except those in the N-East where the term. is *-a*.

Priyadasinā G, *-draśina* S,M, *Piyadasinā* K,D,J,bb, *amtevāsina* Mysore Gr. ; but *Piyadasina* rm, ng.

(iii) Dat. sg. (?) : *-e* cf. *Piyadaśine* K ; *-dasine* D,J ; *-daśine* M.

(a) Once *-ā* appears at the end. cf. *-draśina* M.

(iv) Gen. sg. : *-no* is found in the West and *-ne* in other regions. The ending *-sā* (cf. *-a* declen.) is found only in the North and North-West.

Priyadasino G ; *Piyadasine* K,D,J ; *Priyadraśine* M. But *Priyadraśisa* S ; *Piyādasīsā* K.

(a) Ending *-na* is obtained at yr. cf. *yathācārma*.

(v) Acc. pl. : ending *-ni* (cf. neut. decl.) is found in the East, South, and the North. In the N-West we get *-na* or *-ne*.

hathīni K,D,J ; *alevāsina* yr ; *astina* S ; *astine* M.

(vi) Loc. pl. : ending *-su*, cf. *amtevāśisu* yr.

§ 69. Neut. nouns ending in *-in* :

(i) Nom. pl. : ends in *-ni*, cf. *-gāmini* PE.

§ 70. Fem. noun *dīś* :

(i) Acc. sg. : ends in *-ā*. cf. *dīśā* (for *dīśām*) K.

§ 71. Fem. base ending in *-ad* (*pariśad-*) :

(i) Nom. sg. : ends in *-ā* : *palisā* K,D,J ; *parisā* G ; *pariśa* M, *pari[ś*]* S.

(ii) Loc. sg. : *-yañ* in the East and West and *-ye* in the North and N-West. *palisāyañ* J ; *parisāyañ* G ; *pariśaye* S,M ; *palisāye* K.

(a) The loss of final anusvāra results in the lengthening of the preceding vowel. cf. *parisāyā* D.

(B) PRONOUNS

§ 72. The declined forms of Pronouns mostly correspond to the Sk. forms with the necessary phonetic changes. The base *apha-* for the 1st pers. pron. and *iupha-* for the 2nd pers. pron. are peculiar to these inscriptions. The grammatical distinction in the different genders is sometimes obscured so that the same forms are used for two or three genders. As will be seen the initial *y-* of the relative pronoun is dropped in the Eastern dialect, but it is never turned to *j-* as in later Prakrits.

§ 73. First Personal Pronoun : Important forms are *hakam* in nom. sg., *maye* in nom. pl., base *mama-* in instr. and abl. sg., and *apha-* in pl. forms. The initial *h-* in some of the forms is equally noteworthy.

(i) Nom. sg. : G,S,M give the Sk. form *aham* (M gives also *aam*). Other versions in all regions give *hakam* (< **ahakam*).⁶⁷

(ii) Acc. sg. : *man* occurs in PE.

67. PISCHEL, Gr § 417.

(iii) Ins. sg :

1. *maā* G,S,M,br, and yr.
2. *mahayā*⁶⁸ K,D,J,T.b.
3. *me* K,D,Rdh, Mth, kpb, yr.

(a) 4. *mamiyā* occurs once in T.

(b) 5. *mamāye* occurs in d.

(c) 6. *mamiyāye* occurs in j, and

7. *hamiyāye* occurs in bh.

(iv) Abl. sg. : *mamate* d, j.

(v) Gen. sg. :

1. *mama* G,K,D,J,PE.

2. *maa*⁶⁹ S,M.

3. *me* Major RE, PE, MRE (*mai* to be read as *me* in br.)

(a) anusvāra is added at the end and once we get *mamam* j.

(b) Final -a is lengthened. cf. *mamā* K,D,T,Mi.

(c) *hamā*⁷⁰ is given by bh.

(vi) Nom. pl. : *maye* d, j, (< Sk. *vayam* under the influence of *mayā* cf. HULTZSCH p. cvi).

(vii) Acc. pl. *aphe* d ; *apkeni* j. (cf. the Sk. base *asma-* in *asmān*).

(viii) Gen. pl. : 1. *ne* K,d,j. 2. *abhākā* d.

(ix) Loc. pl. : *aphesū* d,j.

§ 74. Second Personal Pronoun : The base is *tupha-*⁷¹ (< **tuṣma-*).

(i) Nom. pl. : *tupke* d, j, sn, pr ; *pre* j.

(ii) Acc. pl. : *tupheni* j.

(iii) Inst. pl. : *pkehi* d, j.

(iv) Dat. pl. : *ve* (< Sk. *vaḥ*) mk (used for nom. pl.).

(v) Gen. pl. : *tuphāka* d, j ; *tuphākam* sn ; *tupaka* ru.

(vi) Loc. pl. : *tuphesu* d, j.

§ 75. Third Person Pron. Mas. : Base *ta-* (or -*sa* in nom.).

(i) Nom. sg. : *so* G,S ; *se* K,M,D,J,PE and MRE.

(a) G once gives the form *sā*.

(b) Similarly S gives the form *sa*.

(c) The forms *še* and *śe* at K are only graphical.

(d) d and j give *te*.

(ii) Acc. sg. : *so* G ; but *taṁ* K, S, M.

(iii) Inst. sg. : ends in -*na*. cf. *tena* Major RE and PE.

(a) Final -a is optionally lengthened at K, cf. *tenā*.

(iv) Dat. sg. : ends in -*ya* in the West and -*ye* elsewhere.

tāya G ; *tāye* S,M,K.

68. The form *mamae* is given by Hemacandra, III. 109.

69. *maa* = Pkt. *maka*, Sk. *mama* under the influence of dat. sg. *mahyam*, see MICHELSON JAOS 30.85. x. 2.

70. This seems to be a compromise between *mamā* and **ham* < *akam*. See HULTZSCH, p. cxxvii.

71. This again is a compromise between the Sk. base *yusma-* and nom. sg. *tvam*. See HULTZSCH, p. cvi.

- (v) Abl. sg. : *taphā*⁷² and *tā* K.
- (vi) Gen. sg. : ends in *-sa*. cf. *tasa* Major RE.
 - (a) With *-ā* at the end in K cf. *tasā*.
 - (b) Forms *taśa* and *taā* at K are graphical.
- (vii) Loc. sg. : Western ending is *-mhi* and elsewhere *-si*.
tamhi G ; *tasi* S,M,D,J.
(a) Form *taśi* at K is graphical.
- (viii) Nom. pl. : *te* Major and Minor RE, PE.
se D and Mysore Gr.
- (ix) Inst. pl. : ends in *-hi*, cf. *tehi* K.
- (x) Dat. pl. : ends in *-hi*, cf. *tehi* G,K,M.
- (xi) Gen. pl. : *-sam* G,J,Rdh,Mth, Rp. cf. *tesam*.
-śam S, K cf. *teśam*
-ṣam S, K, cf. *tānam* (cf. nominal declension).
(a) Final anusvāra omitted. cf. *tesa* G,d ; *teśa* S,M.
- (xii) Loc. pl. : *-su* : *tesu* PE.

§ 76. Third Pers. Pron.—Feminine : Base *tā-* (or *sā-* in nom.).

- (i) Nom. sg. : *-ā* : *sā* G,K ; *sa* S,M.
(a) K graphically gives *ṣā*.
- (ii) Acc. sg. : *-am* : *tam* PE.
- (iii) Dat. sg. *-ye* : *tāye* PE.
- (iv) Acc. pl. : *-a* (i.e. *-ā*) : *ta* (for *tā*) S,M.

§ 77. Third Pers. Pron.—Neut. : Base *ta-* (or *sa-*).

- (i) Nom. Acc. sg. : *ta* G,K ; *tam* S,D,J,PE (only Acc.), MIRE (only Acc.), *se* K,M,D,J,PE, MRE (also Mysore Gr.).
(a) *se* is exceptionally found in G.
(b) *ṣe* is graphical at K ; it is also found at Kq.
(c) *so* and *sa* also occur at S.
- (ii) Nom. Acc. pl. : *-ni* : cf. *tāni* d, PE.
(a) Forms *ṣa* in S and *ṣe* in M are perhaps mas.

§ 78. Pronominal base *na-* (cf. Hemacandra III. 70-77).

- (i) Acc. pl. Masc. : *ne* G.
- (ii) Acc. pl. Neut. : *nāni* G, PE.

§ 79. Demonstrative *etad* : Mas. The base is either *eta-* (and *esa-* in nom.) or *etaka-*.

- (i) Nom. sg. :
esā G,D,PE (with *esā* cf. *sā* and *Magā*).
ese K.
eṣe K,S,M, *eṣa* K,M.
- (ii) Inst. sg. : *-na* : *etakena* S,M,D,J ; *etena* PE.
(a) Final *-a* is lengthened at K, cf. *etakenā*.
- (iii) Dat. sg. : *-ya* in the Western and Southern and *-ye* in other regions.
etāya, *etakāya* G, (K),yr ; *etāye*, S,M,K,D,J,PE, *etakāye* S,M,K(?),D.

72. *tāphā* < **tamhā* < Sk. *tasmāt*, cf. BÜHLER, ZDMG 37. 592.

(iv) Gen. sg. : The base becomes *cti-*²³ : *ctiṣā* K (note the final *-ā*); *ctisa* S,M; but *ctasa* M,D,J.

(v) Loc. sg. : *-mhi* in the West and *-si* in the East. *ctamhi* G; *ctasi* d,j.

(vi) Nom. pl. : *ctc* G,d,PE, *cta* S,M.

(vii) Loc. pl. : *-su* cf. *ctcsu* PE.

§ 80. Demonstrative *ctad* : Fem. (base *csā-* or *ctakā-*).

(i) Nom. sg. : *-ā* : *csā* G,RE, Mysore Gr. : *csa* K,S,M, *ctā(ta)kā* j; *hesā* yr.

§ 81. Demonstrative *ctad* : Neuter (The base is *cta-* or *esa-*).

(i) Nom. sg. :

1. *-a* or *-ami* cf. *cta* or *-am* G,S,M; *esa* (or *csā*) G,D,J,PE,MRE.
(cf. Hem. 3.85).

2. *-c* cf. *cse* or *cse* K,S,M,b; *ctake* S.

(ii) Acc. sg. : *-a* or *-am*, cf. *cta* G; *ctam* D,J,PE.

(iii) Inst. s. : *-na*, *-nā* and *-ni*, cf. *ctena* S, *ctinā* ru, and *cteni* (for *-nā*) bh.

(iv) Dat. sg. : *-ya* : *ctiya* ru (note the base *cti-*); *ctāya* br. sd.

(v) Nom. Acc. pl. : *-ni* : *ctāni* K,S,M,J,PE.

§ 82. Demonstrative *idam*,—Mas.

(i) Nom. sg. : *ayam* G,K,S,M,D,J. *iyam* K,D,J,MRE.

(a) In the North-West we get also *ayi* S,M.

(b) Loss of anusvāra is found in ru and mk, cf. *iya*.

(ii) Acc. sg. : *ima* or *imam* MRE.

(iii) Inst. sg. : *iminā* G,br,sd,yr; *imena* J.

(iv) Dat. sg. : *imāye* D,ru.

(v) Gen. sg. : *imasa* G,M,D; *imasā* K; *imisa* S (note the base *imi-*).

(vi) Loc. sg. : *imamhi* G.

(vii) Nom. pl. : *ime* G,K,D,M,T,br,sd,jtr.

(viii) Inst. pl. : *imehi* D,J.

§ 83. Demonstrative *idam*,—Feminine.

(i) Nom. sg. : *ayam* G; *iyam* G,K,M,Rdh, bb.

(a) *aya* and *ayi* also occur at S(M).

(ii) Acc. sg. : *imam* PE.

(iii) Dat. sg. : *imāya* G,K; *imāye* D,M; *imisa* S (an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā* cf. HULTZSCH, p. xciii).

(iv) Loc. sg. : *imāyam* Kpb.

§ 84. Demonstrative *idam*,—Neut.

(i) Nom. sg. : *idam* G,S,M; *ayam* G; *iyam* K,S,M,D,J,PE, MRE.

(a) Final anusvāra is dropped, cf. *iya* Mysore Gr., M; *idā* G,S.

(b) The N-Western dialect also furnishes the forms *imam*, *ima* and *iyo*.

(ii) Acc. sg. : *idam* G; *imam* K,S,M,D,J,MRE.

(iii) Nom. pl. : *imāni* PE.

§ 85. Relative *yad-*, Masculine. In the forms of all genders of this pronoun the loss of initial *y-* appears as an Eastern characteristic with its influence over other regions. It never occurs in the West.

73. This base is perhaps due to analogy with Pāli *hissa* : *kāssa* cf. HULTZSCH, p. xciii.

- (i) Nom sg : *sa* in the West and N-West, or elsewhere.
 ya G.S. (M); ya K.M.D.L.PE
 (a) Initial *y* is dropped and we get *a* K.D.L.PE, MRE
 (ii) Inst sg : *sa* of *ya* or K.S.M.PE.
 (a) *en* is given by Td.
 (iii) Gen sg : *sa*, or a G.S.M.
 (a) With the loss of initial *y*, we get DJ and with the lengthening of final
a, we get K.
 (iv) Nom pl : *ya* G.K.S.M.D.L.PE
 (a) The form *ya* is given by m.
 (b) The loss of initial *y* is *sa* in the form *a* K.M.D.L.PE.
 (v) Gen pl : *sa* or *sa*, *ya* or G. *ya* or K. M; *sa* or S
 (a) Loc pl : *sa*, *sa*, or *sa* of *ya* or K; *ya* or S; *ya* or M.

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- (ii) Norm. pl. : $\bar{a} : \bar{a} \bar{d} : \bar{a} \bar{d} G : \bar{a} \bar{d} S M$

Mr. Ritchie and Mr. Newell.

- (i) Nom. sg. : *ya* G.Y. *ya* S.M. *ya* K.M.P.E.
 (a) Loc. of *ya* : K.D.J.E M.R.E.
 (b) Kisi dialect also give *ŋ* for *ya* and *ya*ŋ.
 (ii) Acc. sg. : *ya*ŋ or *ya* G.K.S.M.M.R.E.
 (a) *ŋ* K.D.J.
 (b) *ŋ* M.K.
 (c) The Mre form *ya* is given by the N-Western dialects.
 (iii) Nom. pl. : *yāni* G. P.E.
 (a) *āni* D.J.

§ 88. Interrogative Pronoun.- Masculine

- (i) Nom. sg.: *-o* in the West and *-e* in the East
ko-ci G; *ke-cū* D.J; *ke-cha* K; *ke-ci* M
 (a) Ending *-a* is found in *ke-ci* at S

- (ii) Inst. sg. *hena-pi* in *sa* : **Pinā* in *Her* . ²⁰

PISCHEL, *Grammatik* § 428 and HULTSCH, p. 17.

- (iii) Abl. sg : *a-kasmā* d.j.
(iv) Acc. pl. : *-āni* cf. *pāni* PE

§ 89. Interrogative Pronoun.—*Who?*

the particle -cit.

- (i) Nom., Acc. sg. *ki-^oci* 'the man'
- (a) In G *kai* occurs *ci* 'the man' (cf. 1.1.1.1)
- (b) *ke-ci* for *kineci* 'the man' (cf. 1.1.1.1)
- (c) PE give forms *ci* 'the man' (cf. 1.1.1.1)

- (ii) Nom., Acc. pl. : $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$

§ 90. Pronominal base

- (i) Nom. sg.: *cadiar*; *amie* G; *mie* SM; ...
 (a) The final ...

(ii) Dat. sg. : *-ya* in the West and *-ye* elsewhere.

añāya G.; *añaye* S,M; *añnāye* K,D,J.

(iii) Gen. sg. : *-sa*. *-aññasa* G; *-añasa* S,M.

(a) Final *-a* > *ā* in K, cf. *-anaṣā* (*-ṣ-* being graphical).

(iv) Loc. sg. : *-mhi*, cf. *añamhi* G.

(v) Nom. pl. : *-e* in all versions.

aññe or *añe* G,S,M; *añne* K,D,PE.

(vi) Gen. pl. : *-nañ*, cf. *añnānañ* T.

(vii) Loc. pl. : *-su*, cf. *añnesu* D,T.

§ 91. Pronominal base *anya-* Neuter.

(i) Nom. sg. : *-a* or *-añ* occurs in the West and N-West and *-e* in other regions.

aña G, *añañ* S; *añne* K,D,J,Kq; *añe* M.

(a) *-e* occurs in G. cf. *añe*.

(b) *-a* occurs in T, cf. *ana*.

(ii) Nom., Acc. pl. : *-ni* in all versions.

añāni G,S,M; *añnāni* K,D,J,PE.

§ 92. Pronominal base *sarva-*, Masculine.

(i) Nom. sg. : *-e*, *save* PE.

(ii) Acc. sg. : *-añ*, *savañ* K,D,J,S,M (*savañ*).

(iii) Inst. sg. : *-na*, *savena* d,j.

(a) The dental is cerebralised, cf. *savenā* j

(iv) Gen. sg. : *-sa*, *savasa* d,j

(v) Loc. sg. : *-e* in the West and *-si* in the North. *save* G; *savasi* T.

(vi) Nom. pl. : *-e* in all versions. cf. *save* Major RE.

(vii) Loc. pl. : *-su* in all versions, but *-ṣu* in the North and North-West.

savesu G,D,J,K,T,sn., *saveṣu* S,M.

§ 93. Pron. base *sarva-*, Feminine.

(i) Nom. sg. : *-ā*, *ṣavā* K.

§ 94. Pron. base *sarva-*,—Neuter.

(i) Nom. sg. : *-añ* in the West and N-West and *-e* elsewhere.

sarvañ G; *savañ* S,M; *save* K,D,J, *sarve* b.

(a) *-a* occurs at K and yr in *sava*.

(b) *-e* occurs at S,M. cf. *savre*.

(ii) Acc. sg. : *-añ* everywhere, cf. *savañ* G,K,S,D.

§ 95. Pron. base *ekata-*.

(i) Loc. sg. : ending *-mhi* in the West, *-e⁷⁴* in the N-West and *-si* in the North. *ekataramhi* G; *ekatare* S¹, *ekatalaṣi* (i.e. *-si*) K.

§ 96. Pron. base **ekatya-*⁷⁵

(i) Nom. pl. Mas. : *-ā*, *ekacā* G; *ekatiyā* K,D,J,M; *ekatia* S.

§ 97. Pron. base *itara-*.

(i) Nom. sg. Neut. : *-e*, *itale* K; *itare* M.

§ 98. Pron. base *ubhaya-*.

(i) Gen pl. : *-sañ*, *ubhayesañ* K,M.

(a) Final anusvāra is dropped in S. cf. *ubhayesa*.

74. This is the reading of HULTZSCH; others read *ekataraspi*.

75. For Pāli *ekaca-* cf. GEIGER, *Pāli*, § 113.

II. NUMERALS

(A) CARDINALS

§ 99. ONE : Mas. and Neut. base *eka-*

(i) Nom. sg. Mas. : *-o* in the West and *-e* elsewhere.

eko G ; *ekē* M,K,D,J,sn (*ikike*).

(ii) Acc. sg. Neut. : *-am*, *ekam* S,M,yr.

(iii) Inst. sg. : *-na*, *ekena* d,j.

§ 100. One : Fem. base *ikā-* (for *ekā-*).

(i) Nom. sg. : *-ā*, *ikā* sn.

(ii) Acc. sg. : *-am*, *ikam* sn.

§ 101. Two : Mas. and Neut. : *dva-* or *duva-*.

(i) Nom. Masc. : *-o* in the West and *-e* elsewhere.

dvo G ; *duve* S,M,K,D,J.

(a) The final *-e* > *-i* at S, cf. *duvi*.

(ii) Nom. Neut. : *-e*, *duve* s.

(iii) Inst. : *-hi*, *duvhi* PE.

§ 102. Two : Fem. base : *dva-* or *duva-*.

(i) Nom. : *-e* in G and *-i* in S : *dve* G, *duvi* S.

§ 103. THREE : Mas. and Neut. : base *ti-* or *tri-* (*traya-*):

(i) Nom. Mas. : *-ī* at G and *O* at S : *tī* or *trī* G ; *trayo* S.

(ii) Nom. Acc. Neut. : *-ni*, *tini* K,M, and *tinini* K,D,J,P7 (= Pkt. *tiṇṇi*).

§ 104. THREE : Fem. base *tī-*.

(i) Loc. : *-su*, *tīsu* PE.

§ 105. FOUR : Mas. and Neut. forms are taken from Sk.

(i) Nom. Mas. : *-o*, *catpāro* G.

(ii) Acc. Masc. : *-e* *cature* S,M.

(iii) Nom. Neut. : *-i*, *catāli* K (this form is used for Mas.).

§ 106. FIVE : *pañcā-*.

(i) Loc. : *-su*, *pañcasu* G,K,D,J ; *-ṣu* S,M.

§ 107. SIX : *ṣa-*.

(i) Loc. : *-ṣu*, *ṣaṣu* S,M,K.

§ 108. EIGHT : *aṭha* S,M,K.

§ 109. TEN : *dasa* G,K,D,J ; *daśa* S,M.

§ 110. TWELVE : *dbādasa* G ; *badaya(śa)s⁷⁶* ; *duvāḍasa* K,T,Rdh,Rp,bb ; *duvāḍasa* D,J ; *duvadaśa* and *duvaḍaśa* M ; *duvāḷasa* Mth.

§ 111. THIRTEEN : *traidasa* G ; *tedasa* K,D,J ; *treḍasa* M ; *todaśa* S.⁷⁷

§ 112. FOURTEEN : *codasa* ng.

§ 113. NINETEEN : *ekunavīsati* bb.

§ 114. TWENTY : *vīsati* rm, ng.

§ 115. TWENTY-FIVE : *pañnavīsati* PE.

§ 116. TWENTY-SIX : *saḍuvīsati* PE.

§ 117. TWENTY-SEVEN : *satavisati* T.

§ 118. FIFTY-SIX : *sapaṁnā* s.

76. The Niya form is *badaśa*, see BURROW § 89.

77. The Niya form is *trodasa*, see BURROW § 89.

§ 119. HUNDRED : base *sala-*.

- (i) Nom. pl. Masc. : *-ā, satā* MRE.
- (ii) Acc. pl. Neut. : *-ni, satāni* or *śatani* Major RE.
- (iii) Inst. pl. : *-hi, satchi* or *śatchi* Major RE.
- (iv) Loc. pl. : *-su, śateṣu* K, *śateṣu* S, *sateṣu* M.

§ 120. THOUSAND : base *sakasa-*.

- (i) Loc. pl. : *-su, sakasesu* j ; *sakasesuni*⁷⁸ d (as read by HULTZSCH ; others read *-su*).

§ 121. HUNDRED-THOUSAND : base *sala-sakasa-*.

- (i) Nom. sg. : *-e, śata-sahasre* S,M ; *śata-śahase* K.
- (ii) Nom. pl. : *-ni, śata-sahasrāni* G ; *-sahasani* S, *-sahasrani* M, *-sahasāni* K,D,J.
- (iii) Loc. pl. : *-su, sala-sakasesu* PE.

(B) ORDINALS :

§ 122. FOURTEENTH : *cāvudāsā* PE.

§ 123. FIFTEENTH : *paññaḍāsā* PE ; *paññadasā* Ksb. *paññaḷasā* Rdh, Mth.

§ 124. HUNDREDTH : *śata-* S,M ; *śata-* K.

§ 125. THOUSANDTH : *sahasra-* S, M ; *śakaṣa-* K.

III. CONJUGATION

§ 126. As in declension, the conjugational system of the inscriptions is much simplified. Thus the dual number is altogether lost and the middle voice lingers on only in the West. Yet as the forms given below will bear out, in comparison with later Prakrits, the conjugational system of the Aśokan inscriptions still bears an archaic nature. The ten classes of verbs found in the old system are mostly reduced to the *-a* class, and in some measure to the *-aya* class. The full forms in Sanskrit with the necessary phonetic changes are also inherited in some cases.

§ 127. PRESENT INDICATIVE,—Active.

- (i) 1st pers. sg. : *-mi* in all versions.

karomi G ; *karemi* S,M ; *ṣalakamāmi* D,J ; *vidahāmi* PE.

ichāmi MRE ; *sumi* MRE.

- (a) *-ni* in *ṣalakamāni* at K is a mistake.

- (ii) 3rd pers. sg. : *-ti* in all versions.

ichati S,M,K,D,J ; *dekhati* PE ; *ṣasati* G ; *hoti* Mysore Gr ; *athi* ru, s ; *ānapayati* yr.

- (iii) 1st pers. pl. : *-ma, susuma* yr.

- (iv) 3rd pers. pl. : *-anti* in all versions except G.

-ati (with loss of anusvāra) G and all other versions.

ichati, prāṇayati G ; *ichanti* S,M,K,D,J ; *laghamti* PE.

vaṣati K ; *vaṣati* S,M ; *kaleti* D,J.

§ 128. PRESENT INDICATIVE,—Middle.

- (i) 3rd sg. : *-te* occurs only in the West ; other regions give active *-ti*.

karote G ; but *kaleti* K,D,J, *karoti* S,M.

- (a) *-ti* occurs in G cf. *karoti*.

- (b) *-te* occurs in D cf. *maninate*.

78. For the use of *-(e)sumi* in literary Prakrits HULTZSCH compares PISCHEL, Gr. § 371.

(ii) 3rd pl. :

1. *-te* in G alone. cf. *karonte*.2. *-re*⁷⁹ in G, *anuratare* ; but *anuratañti* K, *anuratañti* S.

§ 129. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE, -Active.

(i) 1st sg. : *-mi* in all versions. The term is of indicative.*sukhāpayāmi* G ; *sukhāpāmi* K,S,M,D,J ; *sārāpayāmi* PE.(a) Final *-i* > *i*, cf. *ārahāmi* Rdh.

(ii) 3rd sg. :

1. *-ā* (< *-āt* ?) G, *maññā*.2. *-tu* K. The term. is of imperative, *sasūgātu*.3. *-ti* sn. The term. is of indicative, *kurāti*.(iii) 1st pl. : *-ma* at M, *dīpayama*.(iv) 2nd pl. : *-thā*, *nikkhipātha* and *tiṇāsāpayāthā* sn ; *likhāpayāthā* s.

(v) 3rd pl. :

1. *-tu* at K, *palakamātu*.2. *-rū* at D, J. The term is of optative cf. *nikkamārū*.

§ 130. SUBJUNCTIVE Middle.

(i) 3rd pl. : *-te* only at M, *parakramate* (HULTZSCH's reading).

§ 131. OPTATIVE Active.

(i) 1st sg. : *-eyāmi* in the West and the N.-West and *-cham* elsewhere.*gaccheyāmi* G ; *vaceeyāmi* S ; *yecham* K,K,D,J*abhyūññāmayecham* T.

(ii) 3rd sg. :

1. *va, asa* G. (= Pāli *assa* for **asyāt*).⁸⁰2. *-e, bhare* G ; *agacha(che)* d.3. *-cyā*⁸¹ in all versions *tisteya* G ; *nirāteyā* K ; *dakheya* d,j ;
anupapīpajeyā T, *adhigaccheyā* mk.4. *-yā, siyā* S,M,D,J,PE, MRE.5. *-ti*, (indicative term.) in North and N.-West. *siyāti* K,S,M.6. *-vā, pāpovā* PE.(iii) 1st pl. : *-ema, dīpayema* G,K ; *gachema* d,j.

(iv) 3rd pl. :

1. *-u* G,K,S,M, cf. *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for **asyuh*)⁸²2. *-cyā* in all versions ; *vaseyu* S,M,G ; *huveyu* K, *calcyū* j ;
pakameyu br, sd ; *suneyu* bb.3. *-evñ*, in non-Western regions ; *vasevu* K ; *calcevū* d ; *pavatayevū* and
upadahevū PE, *jānevū* yr.4. *-vu, yāvu* sn.

§ 132. OPTATIVE,—Middle.

(i) 3rd sg. : *-tha*⁸³ only in G, *paṭipajetha* ; other versions give active forms like
patipajeyā S,M,K,D,J.79. For the use of *-re* in Vedic Sk., Pkt., and Pāli cf. PISCHEL § 458.80. With this form HULTZSCH compares such Vedic forms as *paśyāt*, see p. lxvii.

81. HULTZSCH, p. lxvii.

82. For parallels to this contracted term, cf. HULTZSCH, p. lxxxii.

83. HULTZSCH, p. lxvii.

84. For this term. cf. GEIGER, *Pāli*, § 129.

(ii) 3rd pl. (desiderative): *-era* only in G, *susuṃsera*; other versions have *śuśuṣeyu* K, *suśruṣeyu* S,M.

§ 133. IMPERATIVE,—Active.

(i) 3rd sg. : *-tu*, *hotu* K,D,J,PE,MRE; *bhotu* S,M.

(ii) 2nd pl. : *-tha* in all versions. (indicative ending).

paṭivedetha G; *dekhatha* d,j, *likhāpayatha* s; *nivesayātha* yr.

(a) *-ta* is obtained in *lekhāpeta* ru.

(iii) 3rd pl. : *-aṃtu*, *yujāntu* Major RE; *anuṣaṭipajāntu* PE. *jāṇāntu* Kpb.

(a) The anusvāra is dropped in *niyātu* G; *manatu* K; *mañatu* S.

(b) *-ru* (due to the influence of middle ending) occurs only at G, cf. *srūṇāru*.

§ 134. IMPERATIVE,—Middle.

(i) 3rd sg. passive : *-tām* only in G. *anuvīdhiyatām*; S,M,K give active, *anuvīdhiyatu*.

desider. : *-tā* only in G, *susrusātā*; but active forms such as *susuṣātu* (K), *susūsatu* (DJ) are found in other versions.

(ii) 3rd pl. : *-raṃ* in G, *anuvatarāṃ*, but active *anuvataṃtu* K, *-vatatu* S,D.

§ 135. IMPERFECT,—Active.

(i) 3rd sg. form of *bhū* is *aho* (< **abhot*⁸⁵?) everywhere.

§ 136. AORIST,—Active.

(i) 1st sg. : *-saṃ*, *husaṃ* Mysore gr. *-sa*, *husa* yr.

(ii) 3rd sg. : *-mi*, *nikrami* S,M; *nikhami* D.

(iii) 3rd pl. : *-su*, *ñayāsu*⁸⁶ G; *nikhamisu* K,D,J; *abhuvasu*⁸⁷ S,M; *husu* PE,MRE.

(a) *-ṃsu*, *ahumṃsu*⁸⁸ G.

(b) *-ṣu*, *nikramiṣu* S,M; *maniṣu* K.

§ 137. AORIST,—Subjunctive.

(i) 3rd pl. : *-ṣu*, *mañiṣu* S,M. *-sū*, *alocayisū* D,J,M,K.

§ 138. AORIST,—Middle.

(i) 3rd sg. : *-thā*,⁸⁹ *nikhamithā* K, *huthā* and *vadhithā* T. The middle forms occur in K and T only exceptionally. Active forms are employed elsewhere. Cf. *nikromi* S,M; *nikhami* D.

(a) The ending is cerebralised in *nikhamiṭhā* So.

§ 139. PERFECT,—Active.

(i) 3rd sg. of 'to speak' : The forms are *āhā* in all versions.

(a) Forms *ahati* and *hahati* occur in S.

§ 140. FUTURE,—Active : The occasional change of *-s-* > *-h-* in the plural term is noteworthy.

85. HULTZSCH, p. lxviii.

86. This equals Sk. **nyayāsuḥ*, HULTZSCH, p. lxviii.

87. The term. *-su* affixed to Sk. Aorist form *abhūvan*, cf. JOHANSSON, *Dialect der Shāh. Redaction*, § 30.

88. This is based on 3rd sg. *chu-* = Sk. *abhūt*, HULTZSCH, p. lxviii.

89. For Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhi term. *-iṭthā*, see MÜLLER, *Pāli Gr.* p. 115 and FISCHER, *Gr.* § 517.

(i) 1st sg. :

1. *-sañ* or *-ṣañ*, in the West, N-West and PE. *likhāpayisañ* G ; *ṭalibhasayisañ* PE, *kaṣañ* S.
2. *-ṣāmi*, *-sāmi* in the East and N-West. *lekhāpeśāmi* K,S,M, *hosāmi* D,J.

(a) M once gives *-ṣami* cf. *kaṣam*.(b) K once gives *kachāmi*.(ii) 3rd sg. : *-sati*, *-ṣati* or *-ṣati* almost in all versions.*āñpayisati* G, *khamisati* D,J, *vaḍhiṣati* S ; *vaḍhisati* PE,s,b ; *āñpayisati* yr ; *kaṣati* S,M.(a) The vowel *-a* in *-sati* becomes *-i-* due to *-y-* (in *-syati*) especially in the South. *vaḍhisiti* br,sd,jtr,mk,Kpb,ru ; *vaḍhasitā* for *-siti* (?) yr.(b) The following inherited forms may be noted. *kachati* K,D,J,PE, *bhākhati* (and *caghati*) PE.(iii) 2nd pl. : *-sathā* and *-hatha*, *esatha* j = *chatha* d. *ālādhayisathā* d,j.(iv) 3rd pl. : *-sañti*, *-ṣañti* or *-ṣañti*.*anusāsisañti*, G,K, *nikhamisañti* D,J ; *aṇapeśañti* and *kaṣañti* S, *vaḍhisañti* PE.(a) Note the forms *kachañti* K,D,J,PE ; *chaghan̄ti* PE.(b) *-s-* > *-h-* in the ending *-hañti*, *dāhañti* PE ; *hohañti* T.

§ 141. FUTURE,—Middle.

- (i) 3rd pl. : *-sa-re* only in G, *anuvatisare* ; other versions give active *anuvatisañti* D,K (*-vañti-*), *-ṣañti* S,M.

§ 142. PASSIVE,—Indicative.

- (i) 3rd sg. : *-ti* in non-Western area.

pasavati K,S,M (*pra-*) ; *khādiyati* PE.

- (ii) 3rd pl. : *-re* only in the West, *ārabhare* G ; but *-añti* in the rest, *anuvidhīyanti* K,PE, *ālabhiyanti* M,D,J.

§ 143. PASSIVE,—Imperative.

- (i) 3rd sg. : *-tām* only in G. *anuvidhiyatām* ; but *anuvidhiyatu* S,M.

- (ii) 3rd pl. : *-añtu*, *anuvidhiyāntu* K.

§ 144. PASSIVE,—Optative.

- (i) 3rd sg. : *-yā*, *diseyā* bh.

- (ii) 3rd pl. :

1. *-yū* or *-vū*, *yujeyū* j, *yujevū* d.2. *-su* (Aorist term. see above § 128) *haññyasu* S.

§ 145. PASSIVE,—Aorist.

- (i) 3rd pl. : *-su*, *ārabhisu* G,M, *arabhiyisu* S, *āla(m)bhiyisu* K,D,J.

§ 146. PASSIVE,—Future.

- (i) 3rd pl. : *-sare* in G, *ārabhisare* G ; but *-sañti* elsewhere. *susuñsera* G ; *śuśuṣyu* K ; *suśruṣeyu* E,M.

§ 147. PASSIVE,—Middle.

- (i) 3rd pl. : *-re*, *ārabhare* G ; *-iya-re*, *anuvidhiyare* G.

§ 148. FUTURE PASSIVE,—Middle.

- (i) 3rd pl. : *isa-re*, *ārabhisare* G,

§ 149. DESIDERATIVE,—Imperative.

(i) 3rd sg. : -*tū* G, -*tu* S,M,D,J.

susrusalā G ; *susūsatu* D,J ; *suśruṣatu* S,M.

§ 150. DESIDERATIVE,—Optative.

(i) 3rd pl. : -*ta* in G ; -*yu* K,S,M.

susuhsera G ; *ṣususeyu* K ; *suśruṣyu* S,M.

§ 151. DESIDERATIVE,—Subjunctive.

(i) 3rd sg. : -*tu*, *susuṣātu* K.

§ 152. PRESENT PARTICIPLE,—Active.

(i) -*anta*-, or -*ta*- (with the loss of anusvāra), *saṁta*- Major RE, PE, MRE ; *kalata*- K, *karata*- S,M ; *aśata*- M.

(a) The two forms *karuṁ* and *karu* occur in G as nom. sg. Mas.

§ 153. PRESENT PARTICIPLE,—Middle.

(i) The ending -*māna* occurs in all versions.

bhuṁjamāna- G ; *adamāna*- K,D,J ; *aśamana*- S (but active form *aśata*- in M), *viḥinamana*- S,K ; *anuvekhamāna*- T, *saṁmāna*- (< √as-) br, sd.

(a) The ending sometimes takes the form -*mīna*. cf. *saṁpāṭipajamīna*- d, *vipāṭipādayamīna*- d (but active form -*pātayanīta*- in j) ; *pāyamīna*- PE ; *pakamamīna*- sd,yr,ru,b ; *palakamamīna*- s.

(b) The dental is cerebralised in the South. cf. *pakamamīṇa*- (?) br ; *saṁmāṇa*-Kpb.

§ 154. PAST PARTICIPLE,—Passive.

(i) -*ta*, *mata*- Major RE, T ; *prakamīta*- Mysore Gr. ; *pakamīta*- MRE ; *upayīta*- yr.

(a) The ending is often cerebralised (under the influence of *ṛ*) in non-Western regions. cf. *kaṭa*- M,K,D,J,T, sn,rm,ru,Kpb ; *apakaṭha*- PE ; *vyūṭha*- ru,yr (but *vyūṭha*- br.)

(ii) -*na*, most of the forms are inherited from Sanskrit.

prasamīna- G ; *prasana*- S,M ; *paśamīna*- K, -*uwigina*- d,j.

(a) For Pkt. forms cf. *diṁina*- T ; *dina*- bb.

(b) For a few other inherited forms cf. *ladha*- G,K,S,M ; *sudha*- S,D,J,So ; *pata*- PE ; *asvatha*- PE ; etc.

§ 155. FUTURE PARTICIPLE,—Passive.

(i) -*tavya* used in the West and the South ; -*taviya*- (or -*ṭaviya*) in other regions.

katavya- G ; *drahitavya*- Mysore Gr. ; *kaṭaviya*- M,K,D,J,T ; *pūjetaviya* S,M ; *haṁtaviya*- PE, *dekhitaviya*- MRE.

(a) -*ṭaviya* occurs in the South, cf. *kaṭaviya*- sd, jtr.

(b) -*y*- of the ending is characteristically dropped in S, cf. *vijetavia*-.

(c) -*vy*- of the ending is assimilated to -*v*- in S, cf. *kaṭava*-.

(d) -*tavya* occurs as an exception in the East. cf. *saṁcalitavya*- j (but -*taviya*- d).

(e) forms with -*tavāya* are apparently mistaken cf. *lā(li)khāpetavāya*- ru ; *vivasetavāya* ru.

(f) similarly *ichitaya*- in j is perhaps meant for -*taviya*-.

- (ii) -*aniya* : *vedaniya*- K,S,M ; *asvāsaniya*- j.
- (iii) -*ya* : Most of the forms are assimilated or dissolved and a few are palatalised.
saka- G, Mk, sd ; *śaka*- S,M ; *dupaṭivekha*- PE ; *sakiya*- J,ru,yr,
cakiya- d,j,s,b,Kpb ; *kaca*- G.
- (ā) The cluster is preserved in *avadhya*- Rdh (but *avadhiya*- T) ; *cakya*- b.

§ 156. INFINITIVES,

- (i) of Accusa. -*tu* (< -*tuṃ*) : *ārādhetu* G.
- (ii) of Dat. -*tave* (< -*tavai*) : *chamitave* G, *khamitave* D,J ; *bhetave* (< √*bhid*)
 PE ; *jāpotave* MRĒ ; *ārādheta* yr.
- (a) The dental is cerebralised in *palihata* T.

§ 157. ABSOLUTIVES. The distinction between -*tvā* and -*ya* is not maintained. Of the two types of absolutes, those with -*tvā* are more commonly used.

- (i) -*tpā* (< -*tvā*) : in the West, *ārabhitpā* G.
- (ii) -*tu* (< -*tvā*) : in other versions : *sutu* K,T ; *śrutu* S,M ; *jāntu* d.
 (a) The dental is cerebralised in *kaṭu* d, *kaṭū* j.
 (b) The ending is extended to -*tūnaṃ* in bb. cf. *abhivādetūnaṃ*.⁹⁰
- (iii) -*ya* : *sachāya* (< *sañ-√kṣā*) = *sañ-khyā* G ; *sañkhaya* S,M.
 (a) Instead of the form *sañkheye* at K we are asked to read *sañkhāya*.
 (b) The final -*a* > -*ā*, cf. *sañnaṃdhāpayiyā* sn..
 (c) The palatalised form *āgāca* occurs in rm, ng.
 (d) The cluster is preserved in *adhigicya* bh.
- (iv) -*ti* (< Vedic -*tvī*) is found only in the N-Western dialect.⁹¹
 Cf. *tiḥiti*, *viḥiti* S ; *draṣeti* M.

90. Cf. PISCHEL, Gr. § 585.

91. It is found in the Niya Prakrit as well. See BURROW, § 102.

CHAPTER II

SYNTAX

§ 158. It is not intended to give here a detailed account of Aśokan syntax.¹ However, such syntactical peculiarities as are observed in the government of cases, case variations, irregularities in concord, absolute constructions and a few others are discussed below. In all such cases where the different versions are unanimous in showing a peculiarity the illustration from only one version is quoted and the others are referred to in brackets. It is hardly necessary to observe again that the study of syntax made in this chapter is on the same comparative lines as in earlier chapters on Phonology and Morphology.

§ 159. Government of Cases :

(a) accusative : The verb $\sqrt{yuj-}$ takes acc.

(i) *imisa aḥasa vadhi yujantu* S (RE 4, J)².

(ii) *mahāmātā sasvatam samayam etam yujeyu* j (1, Z).

(b) instrumental :

1. *anyatra* takes instr. in the sense 'except, without'.

(i) *hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādāye ammata agāyā dhammakāmatāyā ..*
T (PE, 1, C).

(ii) *dukale cu iyaṃ anatā agenā palakamenā* K (RE. 6, N) ;
also cf. RE, 10, E.

2. *param* takes instr. in the sense 'beyond, after'.

(i) *palam cā tenā Amṭiyogenā* K (RE, 13, Q).

(ii) *palam cā tehi ye aṇṭiye ..* K (RE, 5, E).

3. Comparative suffix *-tara* takes instr.

(i) *nathi hi kaṃmatalā savalokahitenā* K (RE, 6, K). But the G version alone uses abl. cf. *sava-loka-hitatpā*.

(ii) *kiṃ hi imena kaṭaviyatalā* J, (9, L). Here the G version also adopts instr.

(c) dative :

1. *nī/srj-* takes dat. in the sense 'to entrust'.

(i) *athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisiṇṇu asvathe hoti ..* T (PE, 4, I).

(d) ablative :

1. *ā* takes abl. in the sense 'even to, as far as'.

(i) *dupada-catupadesu vividhe me amugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakṣiṇāye*
T (PE, 2, E).

(ii) *a Taṃbapaṇṇiya* M, 13, Q (see *yāvat* below).

2. *yāvat* takes abl. in the sense 'as far' or 'as long as'.

(i) *iyaṃ kaṭaviye magale āva tasā athasā mivutiyā* K (RE, 9, H).

But G version gives dat. cf. .. *āva taṣa athasa niṣṭānāya*.

1. Certain peculiarities of Aśokan Syntax have been studied by Dr. Joé CANEDO in his *Zur Wort- und Satzstellung in der alt- und mittlereindischen Prosa*.

2. References are to HULTZSCH's edition.

11. *taṣa* takes gen. and dat. in K version.

- (i) *nathī hi me dōse (= tose) uṭhānasā aṭhasamtilanāye cā* K, 6, H.
For loc. use instead of gen. in all other versions see below.

12. *apacīti* 'reverence' takes gen.

- (i) *gurūmaṇi apacīti* G (RE, 9, G).

(f) locative :

1. *śuśrūṣā* takes loc. (for gen. use see above).

- (i) *sādhu māta-pītisu sususā* K (RE, 3, D ; 4, C); also cf. T, 7, HH ; etc.

2. *saṃyak-pratīpatti* takes loc. (for gen. see above).

- (i) *nāṭisu saṃpaṭīpatī* D and J, 4, C. Other versions give gen. cf. above.

- (ii) *dāsa-bhatakaṃhi saṃyā-pratīpatī* G, 9, G ; All other versions except S give loc. ; also cf. RE 13 G.

3. *asaṃpratīpatti* also takes loc. (for gen. see above).

- (i) *nāṭisu asaṃpratīpatī* G and J, 4, A ; S, M, K give gen.

4. *toṣa* takes loc. and dat. (for gen. see above).

- (i) *nastī hi me toṣo uṭhanasī aṭhasamtilanāye cā* S, 6, H ; also cf. M, D and J versions ; only K gives gen.

5. *anyatra* 'except' used with loc. (for instr. see above).

- (i) *yatā nathī ime nikāyā ānatā yoneṣu* K (RE, 13, J).

6. *anusathī* 'instruction' with loc.

- (i) *aṃ tuṭhesu anusathī* d, 1, C and j, 1, D.

7. *anugraha* takes loc.

- (i) *dupada-catupadesu* *vividhe me anugahe kaṭe* T (RE, 2, E).

8. *icch-* and *icchā* take loc.

- (i) *atha payāye icchāmi kiṃti* *hita-sukhena yūjeyu* *hemcva me icchā sava-munisesu* j, 1, G and d, 1, F.

9. *āyata* in the sense of 'vyāpṛta' = 'occupied' takes loc.

- (i) *tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahascesu āyata* d, 1, D and j, 1, E.

- (ii) *lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-ṣata-sahascesu janasī āyatā* T (PE, 4, C); also cf. T, 7, M and N.

10. *yāvat* used with loc. (for abl. see above).

- (i) *āva dāsa-bhatakesu saṃpaṭīpatīyā*, T, 7, HH.

§ 160. Case variations :

1. Nominative Case :

- (a) used for acc. : *iya ca aṭhe pavatisu lakkhapeta vālata*, ru, 1, J.

But acc. is regularly used in s, 1, L. cf. *ima ca aṭhaṇi pavatesu lakkhapayā-thā*.

- (b) Used for instr. *etamcva me anuvekhamāne dhamma-thamabhāni kaṭāni* T, 7, P.

2. Instrumental case :

- (a) used for nom : *Devanāṃpriyena Priyadrasī raja evaṇi aha*, M, 5, A.

But all other versions read nom. regularly. cf. *Devānāṃpriyo Priyadasi rājā evaṇi āha* G (RE, 5, A).

3. Dative case :

(a) used for loc. :

- (i) *jane ucārucaṇi maṇḡalaṇi kaleti ābādhasi pavāsasi etāye³ amṇāye cā edisāye jane bahu maṇḡalaṇi kaleti* K, 9, B (also cf. S, M, D, J).

But the G version gives loc. regularly. cf. *asti jano maṇḡalaṇi karote ābādhesu ctamhī ca añamhi ca*

- (ii) But at other place even G uses dat. for loc. *tāya athāya vivādo nijhātī va saṁto* G, 6 F (also K, S, M).

But here D and J, 6, F give loc. cf. *tasi aḥasi*

4. Genitive case : This is used for more than one case.

- (a) gen. for nom. : *tuphāka* (for *tuphe* or *phe*) *tena vataviye* d, 1, Q.

(b) gen for acc. :

- (i) *am̐tā ca me jām̐vu* yr. (9-10).

(c) gen. (with the past passive participle) for instr. :

- (i) *aya dhrama-dipi Devanapriasa raṇo likhapita*, S, 1, A ; other versions, however, point to the regular instr. : *priyadasinā rāṇā³ lekḥāpitā* G (RE, 1, A).

- (ii) *priadrasīsa raṇo Kaliga vijita* S, M, K, 13. A. The text in G is mutilated at this place but from the remnant *...ṇo* it appears that gen. was intended.

- (iii) *hevaṇi mamā lajukā kaḷā* PE, 4, I.

- (iv) *saḍuvīsati-vasābhīsita me jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni*, Rdh and Mth, 5, B ; but the versions at T, Ksb and Rp give instr. *-vasābhīsita me* The use of *me* in gen. and instr. has probably led to the confusion in the above two versions.

- (v) *yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhīsita me baṇdhana-mokḥāni kaṭāni*, Mth, 5, L ; all other versions exhibit the use of instr. J

(d) gen. for loc. :

- (i) *bahukaṇi hi dosāṇi samājasa drakhati Piyadaśi lājā* J, K and M, 1, D ; but loc. is used in G and S, 1, D. cf. *dosāṇi samājamhi pasati*, G.

- (ii) *se ichitaviye kitinī cte jālā no huvevu mamā ti* d, 1, N ; *me elāni jātāni* j, 1, O.

- (iii) *te sava-pāsaṇdesu viyāpaṭā Yona-Kaṁboja-Gaṁdhālānaṇi e vā pi am̐ne apalaṁtā* K, 5, J ; all other versions similarly use gen. but D alone gives regular loc. *vīyāpaṭā Gaṁdhālesu Laṭhika-Pitīnikesu*

- (iv) Introduction of gen. in the midst of locatives. *evameva hida raja-viṣavaspi Yona-Kaṁboyesu Nabhaka-Nabhitina Bhoja-Pitīnikesu dhramaṇuśasti anuvaṭaṁti*, S, 13, R ; but the versions at K and M give loc. instead. cf. *Nābhaka-Nābhapaṁtisū*. (The G version is defaced).

3. The Gīrnar version suggests that these are dat. sg. of mas. However, " " regarded as fem. forms then they can equally be loc. sg.

5. Locative case :

(a) Loc. for dat. :

(i) *parisā pi yute āṇapayisati gaṇanāyaṃ* G (RE, 3, E).

(b) Loc. for gen.

(i) *jīvesu anālambhe sādhu*, D and J, 3, D ; but other versions give gen. cf. *prāṇānaṃ sādhu anāraṃbho* G (RE, 3, D). Even D and J give gen. as in other versions in RE, 4, C, cf. *anālambhe pānānaṃ*.

§ 161. Peculiarities of Concord.

1. Concord of subject and predicate.

(a) *jana* construed with sg. and pl. *jane dhamma-susuṣā susuṣātu* (sg.) *me ti dhamma-vataṃ vā anuvīdhiyaṃtu* (pl.) *ti* K, 10, A ; but S and M use sg. in both places.(b) For the use of a collective noun in singular also cf. *save catupade* (sg.) *ye paṭibhogāṃ no. eti na ca khādiyati* RE, 5 B,(c) The predicate *asti* (*athi*) is used with nom. pl.(i) *asti pi tu ekacā samājā sādhumatā* G (RE, 1, E).(ii) *iyaṃ dhammalibhi āta athi silāthambhāni vā* *tata kaṭaviyā* T, 7, SS.(d) Similarly *nāsti* (*nathi*) is used with nom. pl.(i) *osudhāni* *yata yata nāsti* G (RE, 2, B) ; for similar use also cf. RE, 3, c and 13, J.(ii) *yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā* G (RE, 7, E).

(e) Sg. predicate with plural subject.

(i) *dhammāpekkhā dhammakāmatā cā* *vaḍḍhisati* PE, 1, D.

(f) Pl. predicate used with nom. sg.

(i) *palisā pi ca yutāni gaṇanasi anapayisaṃti* K, 3, E. Similar construction occurs in S version also. But G, M and J use the predicate in sg.(ii) *ye hi kecha ata-pāṣaḍa pūvāti* *kiti ata-pāṣaṃḍa dīpayema* K, 12, H. The versions at G and M similarly give the plural forms of *√dīpa-* but the S version gives singular *dīpayami*.(iii) *kayānaṃmeva dekkhaṃti iyaṃ me kayāne kaṭe ti*, Rdh, Mth, RP, 3, B ; but T and Ksb give sg. *dekkhati*.(iv) *taṃ loke anūpalīpaṃne taṃ ca anuvīdhiyaṃti* T, 7, GG.

2. Concord of Noun and Adjective.

I. Gender :

(a) Adj. agrees with mas. when the substantives are mas. and fem. *vivāde nijhati vā saṃtaṃ* (= *santo*), RE, 6, F.

(b) Adj. used in neut. when it qualifies different genders.

(i) *imāni āsīnavagāmīni nāma atha caṇḍiye niḥkūliye kodhe māne isyā* RE, 3, F.(c) Mas. is referred to by *kāni* and *nāni* in neuter.(i) *nālikā va kāni nijhapayisaṃti* PE, 4, M ; also cf. PE, 5, C ; 6, C.(ii) *kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ānaṃṇaṃ gaccheyāṃ idha ca nāni sukhāpayaṃti* G (RE, 6, L).

II. Number :

- (a) nom. sg. adj. construed with pl. substantive. *yena ete abhātā asvatha saṁtām*, PE, 4, J.

§ 162. Absolutive constructions :

(a) Nominative singular absolute :

- (i) *hevaṁ ca kalāntām* (nom.) *tuphe caghattha saṁpaṭipādayitave* d, 1, X ; for other uses cf. d, 2, L and P ; mk. Section G.
 (ii) *pātayaṁtām* j, 1, S and T.
 (iii) *saṁtām* j, 2, Q ; PE, 4, J. cf. LÜDERS, SPAW 1913. 1010.
 (iv) *nāsaṁtām* PE, 4, M. cf. LÜDERS, ibid. 1913. 1023.
 (v) *-pajāntām*, T, 7, PP.
 (vi) *duāhale* d, 1, T. cf. HULTZSCH, Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 95, f.n. 13.
 (vii) The form *karuṁ* occurring at G, 11, E and 12, F is of nom. absolute according to Senart, Bühler and Hultzsch.

(b) Genitive singular absolute :

- (i) *adamānasā me* *paṭivedakā aṭham* *vedetu*, K (RE, 6, D).

(c) Locative singular absolute :

- (i) *adhunā ladhesu Kalimgesu tivo dhammavāyo*, G (RE, 13, C).

§ 163. To denote time various cases are used.

- (a) Nom. : *sātīleke cu chavachare* ru, 1, D (cf. other versions of MRE).

(b) Acc. :

- (i) *atikātām aṁtaram* G (RE, 4, A) ; for similar use cf. Major RE. 5, H ; 6, B ; 8, A.
 (ii) *sātīrekāṇi aḍḍhatiyāṇi vasāṇi* Kpb. B (also cf. other MRE).

(c) Inst. :

- (i) *bahūhi vāsa-satehi* G (RE, 4, C).
 (ii) *iminā ca kāleṇa amisā munisā devehi* yr. 4-5.

(d) Dat. :

- (i) *dighāya* 'in distant (future)' G, 10, A ; other versions, however, use loc. cf. *āyatiye* and *ayatiya*.
 (ii) *yā imāya kālāya* *amisā devā husu* ru, E ; but inst. is used in *etena ca aṁtalena*, s, E and *iminā kāleṇa*, br, F.

-(e) Loc. :

- (i) *pañcasu pañcasu vāsesu* G (RE, 3, C).
 (ii) *save kāle*, G, 6, D and F ; but other versions give acc., cf. *savaṁ kālaṁ*.
 (iii) *tīsu cātummāsīsā* (loc.) *tiṣāyaṁ puṁnamāsiyaṁ* (loc.) *tīṇi divasāni* (acc.) *cāvudasaṁ paṁmaḍasaṁ paṭipadāye* (loc.) *dhuvāye cā anuposathaṁ mache avadhiye* T, 5, H ; but among the other versions of this edict, Mi gives *paṭipadā* (nom. or acc.?) and Rdh, Mth and Rp give *paṭipadam* (acc.).

- (iv) *se imāyaṁ velāyaṁ* *amisā devā samāṇā* Kpb, E.

§ 164. Some peculiar constructions :

(a) Change in construction is observed in :—

te sava-pāsariṇḍesu vyāpata dhāmadhiṣṭānāya ye vā pi amñā āparātā G, (RE, 5, J). Here the change in the construction is made from *ye vā* but some such word as *tesu* is omitted at the end.

(b) Similarly the construction is broken in section M of the RE 5 at G, K, S and M. cf. *savesu olodhanesu e vā pi amne nātikye savatā viyāpaṭā* (K version). But the D version reads : *savesu olodhanesu amnesu vā nātikesu*

(c) *ta mama putā ca potā ca param ca tena ya me apacāṇ anuvatisare tathā so sukataṇ kāsati* G, 5, E. Here the sg. construction in *so sukataṇ kāsati* in spite of the plural in antecedent is noteworthy. All other versions give the plural construction in its stead.

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA IN THE LIGHT OF PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS

The grammars of different Prakrit languages were written at a very late stage when all the Prakrits described in them had assumed a more or less standardised literary form. They were then no longer in the process of formation as most of the characteristics which distinguished them from one another had come to become normal. The inscriptions of Aśoka, on the other hand, represent a very early stage in the development of MI-A languages. If we were to except a few Prakritisms in Vedic Sanskrit, a few Prakrit words quoted by Sanskrit grammarians, and the Prakrit inscription on the Piprahwa vase and the Sohagaura copper plate (L 931 and L 937), the inscriptions of Aśoka are the oldest dated records in MI-A dialects. It may, therefore, be assumed that these inscriptions show at least in certain cases the starting point of the characteristics noted and perhaps exaggerated by later grammarians. It would be wrong to suppose that at such an early stage as these inscriptions represent such phonetic changes as the change of intervocal surds to sonants or loss of intervocal stops should have any sweeping force. Such changes are therefore only restricted in their scope and are useful only in showing the tendencies of a particular region.

It would therefore be profitable to correlate the results of the studies in Phonology and Morphology of these inscriptions to the treatment of various dialects given by Prakrit grammarians. Of these grammarians the following discussion takes into account only Vararuci, as the oldest Prakrit grammarian, and Hemacandra for having given an exhaustive treatment to the study of Prakrits. Though these grammarians enumerate a large number of Prakrits they treat of only three or four principal Prakrits in details viz. the Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Paiśācī. For our present purposes we may leave aside the question of Paiśācī, as the problem of its original home is not yet finally settled. Among the rest, Māhārāṣṭrī may roughly correspond to the Western inscriptions of Aśoka, Māgadhī to the Eastern and Śaurasenī to the Central Indian inscriptions. We have at present no knowledge of a Prakrit deriving its name from a Southern country and which would have corresponded with the Southern inscriptions of Aśoka. The purpose of the present chapter is to compare, wherever possible, the dialectal variations noted by the grammarians with the regional distinctions observed in Aśokan inscriptions. This will enable us to see how far the later tendencies witnessed in literary Prakrits have any historical bearing.

PHONOLOGY

I. Vowels : The treatment of the vowel γ is not so specifically dealt with by the grammarians as to point to any dialectal distinction. It is, however, studied by some of the modern scholars who point out that the $\gamma > a$ treatment is predominant in the West and the South and that the $\gamma > i$ treatment in other regions.¹ This distinction

1. J. BLOCH, *La Formation d la langue Marathe*, §31 ; S. K. CHATTERJEE, *Bengali Language*, §137 ; PISCHEL, *Gr. Pkt. Spr.* §49-51 ; GEIGER, *Pāli Gr.* §12 ; all these are quoted by WOOLNER in his *Introduction to Pkt.*, §60.

finds an exact reflection in the Aś. inscriptions in as much as the $r > a$ treatment is the principal one in the Western and the $r > i$ treatment in the non-Western regions.

As regards the change in the quantity of the vowels before consonant clusters, though Hemacandra expresses himself in a definite manner in the Sūtras 1.43, 84 and 2.92, Vararuci is astonishingly silent about it. "Are we therefore to interpret", asks COWELL in his edition of the Prākṛta-Prakāśa by Vararuci (second issue, p. 186) "the silence of Vararuci as evidence that the principle in question grew up gradually in Prākṛit, and only became fully recognised in later times?" This statement is to a certain extent borne out by the Aś. inscriptions. Hemacandra makes only a qualified statement in laying down that short vowels are lengthened in the metrically long syllables (cf. 1.43 and 2.92). In Aś. inscriptions we find that short vowels in this position are only occasionally lengthened in the non-Western regions. They undergo this change in the West only in rare cases. According to Hemacandra, however, the change of long vowels before consonant clusters is of a sweeping nature (1.84) without any dialectal distinction. But in the inscriptions of Aśoka we notice that long vowels, except \bar{i} , are usually shortened in the regions other than the West where they are normally preserved. The long vowel \bar{i} is, however, shortened in all regions with only a few exceptions.

II. Simple Consonants: It is mostly in this sphere that the dialectal variations in Prakrits are recognised by the grammarians. The elision of intervocal single consonant is a singular characteristic of Māhārāṣṭrī (V. 2.2; H. 1.177). This compares well with Aś. inscriptions where this tendency is met with only in the West and the N.-West, though in a restricted number of cases. Thus the elements of a tendency later on exaggerated in the Māhārāṣṭrī literature may be regarded to have been found in the corresponding region in the days of Aśoka.

The change of $-t- > -d-$ (also $t- > d-$) and of $-th- > -dh-$ is one of the salient features of Śaurasenī (V. 12.3; H. 4.260-2 and 267) and Māgadhī (H. on 4.302). The change of $t- > d-$ and of $-t- > -d-$ is only exceptionally met with in the North and the N.-West. This early Northern characteristic seems to have developed later on into a characteristic feature of the non-Western dialects. The change of $-th- > -dh-$ is however, not noticed in the Aś. inscriptions.²

In the treatment of the palatal j and the semi-vowel y it may be gathered that the later usage does not quite correspond to the earlier tendencies. The grammarians lay down that intervocal $-j-$ is dropped and sometimes $-y-$ is developed in its stead in Māhārāṣṭrī (H. 1.177, 180), but it is invariably changed to y , both initially and medially, in Māgadhī (V. 11.4; H. 4.292). In the Aś. inscriptions, loss of intervocal $-j-$ is not met with and the change of $-j- > -y-$ is obtained not in the East so as to be a characteristic of Māgadhī later on, but in the N.-West. With regard to y it is prescribed that whereas it is preserved in Māgadhī (H. 4.292) it is changed to $j-$ or $-j-$ in other languages (V. 2.31; H. 1.248). But in the inscriptions of Aśoka intervocal $-y- > -j-$ only in a few cases in the East and the N.-West. Then again initially $y-$ is lost mostly in the indeclinables and relative pronouns in the Eastern dialect of

2. For the first appearance of this characteristic in a little later inscriptions cf. *radha-* (< Sk. *ratha-*), *padhama-* (< Sk. *prathama-*), etc. in the Udayagiri inscription (L 1345) in the East and *kadhika-* (< Sk. *kathika-*) etc. in the Amaravati inscriptions (EI 15.270.40) in the South.

Aśoka and not in the Western. Intervocally, however, -y- is preserved in the East, its elision being restricted only to the N.-West.

The cerebral nasal *ṇ* is preserved in all Prakrits except Paiśācī where it is changed to the dental *n* (V. 10.5 ; H. 4.306). As this feature distinguishes all other Prakrits from Paiśācī it is worth while to note that it is the Eastern dialect of Aśoka's time which agrees with Paiśācī in this respect. The cerebral *ṇ* is preserved in the West, N.-West and the South in those days.³

The change of *r* to *l* in all positions forms one of the principal characteristics of Māgadhī according to the grammarians (H. 4.288). This change is optional in Śaurasenī, more frequent in Ardha-Māgadhī and a few instances have been recorded where it occurs in Māhārāṣṭrī (V. 2.30). This treatment of the semivowel *r* is definitely borne out by the inscriptions of Aśoka which point out that *l* was substituted for *r* in the court language of Magadha but not in that of the West, N.-West (and the South).

The three Sk. sibilants fall together in the single dental sibilant in all later Prakrits except Māgadhī (V. 2.43 ; H. 1.260 ; for Paiśācī cf. H. 4.309). The Māgadhī of the grammarians singles out itself in this connection and consistently shows the palatal *ś* instead of the dental *s* (V. 11.3 ; H. 4.288). It is in this respect again that the dialectal distinction of the later Prakrits does not correspond to the one noticed in the Aś. inscriptions. In these inscriptions even the Eastern dialect together with others (except in the N.-West) shows the dental *s* and not the palatal *ś*. The Kālsī edicts of Aśoka situated in the Dehra Dun district of the United Provinces no doubt point sometimes to *ś* (< *s*), but they even preserve *ṣ* or *s* or change *s* to *ṣ*. As has been remarked in the treatment of these sibilants in the First Chapter on Phonology, this confusion is attributed by scholars to the ignorance of the scribe and is no longer regarded as representing the correct pronunciation of the people.

Palatalisation of a few single consonants and mostly of dentals in combination with *y* is a feature recorded by later grammarians as common to all Prakrits without any dialectal distinction. The inscriptions of Aśoka, however, point almost in all cases to some geographical distinction. Thus the cluster *kṣ* is palatalised to *ch* in all positions in the West and the N.-West but it is assimilated to *kh* in other regions. The clusters -*ty*- and -*ts*- are palatalised mostly in the West, N.-West and the South. The clusters -*dy*- and -*dhy*- are, however, palatalised in all regions. In this connection the difference in the treatment of the cluster *dy* in the Eastern inscriptions of Aśoka and the Māgadhī of the grammarians may be pointed out. It has been already noted that Māgadhī changes *j* to *y* and as a corollary to it the cluster *dy* is changed not to *jj* as in other literary Prakrits but to *yy* in Māgadhī (H. 4.292). The Eastern dialect in Aśoka's period, however, only palatalises -*dy*- to -*j*- (i.e. -*jj*-) without any further change. The change of -*ry*- to -*j*- or -*jj*- which is prescribed for Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī by Hemacandra (2.24 and 4.266) is not met with in the Aś. inscriptions.⁴ The initial palatalisation of *t* to *c* which is found in the Eastern and North-

3. The tendency to preserve -*ṇ*- or change it to -*n*- is witnessed even in later Prakrit inscriptions all over India. The full preservation of -*ṇ*- is met with in very late inscriptions of the 4th cent. A.D. cf. for instance the language employed in the Bāsim plates of Central India (EI 26.137ff).

4. For its appearance later on in the South cf. *Ruddajja* < Sk. *Rudrārya* EI 17.329³ *majādā* < Sk. *maryādā* (L. 1205), etc. and also the Central Indian copper plates of Bāsim (EI 26.152ff).

ern dialects of Aśoka seems to have been later on incorporated by Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī also.

Cerebralisation of dentals under the influence of τ , r or a sibilant is noticed by grammarians as a feature common to all Prakrits. The Western dialect of the inscriptions of Aśoka, however, clearly distinguishes itself from others by the preservation of the dentals in a large number of cases. The cerebralisation in Māhārāṣṭrī, therefore, seems to have been a later development under the Eastern influence. Similarly the cerebralisation of n to η in all positions is a later development of the literary Prakrits (V. 2.42, H. 1.228-9) which is not noticed so strongly in the earlier stages. In the inscriptions of Aśoka n - is preserved in all versions except the one at Kōpāl in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions where n -|> η - and $-n$ - > $-\eta$ - in all cases. Intervocally $-n$ - > $-\eta$ - also in the West and the N.-West. Even in terminations the cerebral $-n$ - (< $-n$ -) is replaced by the dental $-n$ - in all versions except those at Mysore and Kōpāl in the South.⁵

The cluster $-jñ$ - is cerebralised to $-ṇṇ$ - in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī (V. 3.44 ; 12.8 ; H. 2.42), but palatalised to $-ññ$ - in Māgadhī (H. 4.293) and Paiśācī (H. 4.303-4). But in the inscriptions of Aśoka the palatal treatment is noticed only in the West (and sometimes in the N.-West), the Eastern, Central and the Northern inscriptions assimilating it to $-ṇṇ$ -. The cerebral treatment, again, is observed in the two distant corners viz. the N.-Western and Southern inscriptions.

The change of intervocal sonants to surds, both aspirate and unaspirate, forms the salient feature of Paiśācī (and Cūlikā-Paiśācī) Prakrit (V. 10.3 ; H. 4.307, 325). This type of change is only sporadically observed in the inscriptions of Aśoka. But the important point of note, which may contribute towards deciding of the original home of Paiśācī, is that whereas in the case of $-g$ - > $-k$ - the change is observed in N.-West and the South, the change of $-j$ - > $-c$ - (or $-d$ - > $-t$ -) may be regarded to have started in the East.

III. Consonant Clusters : The principles of assimilation and others which have simplified Sk. clusters in literary Prakrits are seen working in the inscriptions of Aśoka also. A few peculiarities, however, may be discussed below.

(i) Clusters with stops : The change of $-cch$ - > $-śc$ - noticed in Māgadhī (H. 4.295) is not witnessed in any version of the Aś. inscriptions. Then again Māgadhī has some clusters with sibilants. Thus $-tṭ$ - and $-ṣṭh$ -|> $-ṣṭ$ - in Māgadhī (H. 4.290 also 289). Now the cluster $-ṣṭh$ - normally becomes $-ṭh$ - (or $-th$ -) in the non-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. It is preserved as $-ṣṭ$ - but not in the East, as one may expect from its later appearance as a Māgadhī characteristic, but in the Girnar version of the Rock Edicts in the West. Similarly $-sth$ - and $-rth$ -|> $-st$ - in Māgadhī (H. 4.291). But these clusters become $-th$ - or $-ṭh$ - in Aśokan inscriptions except in the West where it is preserved in the form $-st$ - seen in later Māgadhī. As these special treatments which are peculiar to later Māgadhī are seen only in the West in the Aśokan inscriptions and are not available even in the later Prakrit inscriptions in the East (e.g. the Rāmgarh cave inscriptions L 920-L921 ; Bodh-Gayā inscriptions L 939-L948 ; Udaya-

5. Partial cerebralisation of n is witnessed in all later Prakrit inscriptions, the tendency towards cerebralisation getting stronger from the beginning of the Christian era. The complete change of n > η is felt in the 3rd and 4th cent. A.D. copper plates. Cf. L 1194, L 1200, EI 26.137ff., etc.

3. Dative case :

(a) used for loc. :

- (i) *jane ucāvucam maṅgalaṁ kaleti ābādhasi pavāsasi etāye^a aññāye cā edisāye jane bahu maṅgalaṁ kaleti* K, 9, B (also cf. S, M, D, J).

But the G version gives loc. regularly. cf. *asti jano maṅgalaṁ karote ābādhesu etamhī ca añnamhī ca*

- (ii) But at other place even G uses dat. for loc. *tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī va saṁto* G, 6 F (also K, S, M).

But here D and J, 6, F give loc. cf. *tasi aṭhasi*

4. Genitive case : This is used for more than one case.

- (a) gen. for nom. : *tuphāka* (for *tuphe* or *phe*) *tena valaviye* d, 1, Q.

(b) gen for acc. :

- (i) *aṁtā ca me jāncvu* yr. (9-10).

(c) gen. (with the past passive participle) for instr. :

- (i) *aya dhrama-dīpi Devanapriasa raño likhapita*, S, 1, A ; other versions, however, point to the regular instr. : *priyadasinā rāṇā lckhāpitā* G (RE. 1. A).

- (ii) *priadraśisa raño Kaliga vijita* S, M, K, 13. A. The text in G is mutilated at this place but from the remnant *...ño* it appears that gen. was intended.

- (iii) *hcvam mamā lajukā ka'a* PE, 4, I.

- (iv) *saduvīsati-vasābhīsita me jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni*, Rdh and Mth, 5, B ; but the versions at T, Ksb and Rp give instr. *-vasābhīsita me* The use of *me* in gen. and instr. has probably led to the confusion in the above two versions.

- (v) *jāva-saduvīsati-vasābhīsita me baṛdhana-mokkhāni kaṭāni*, Mth, 5, L ; all other versions exhibit the use of instr.

(d) gen. for loc. :

- (i) *bahukam hi dosaṁ samājasa ārakhati Priyadasī lājā* J, K and M, 1, D ; but loc. is used in G and S, 1, D. cf. *dosaṁ samājamhi pasctī*, G.

- (ii) *se ichitaviye kilim cte jātā no kuveru mamā ti* d, 1, N ; *me etāni jātāni* j, 1, O.

- (iii) *te sava-pāsani.āsu viyāpatā Yona-Kamboja-Gaṁdhālānaṁ e vā pi aññe cpa'aññā* K, 5, J : all other versions similarly use gen. but D alone gives regular loc. *vīyāpatā Gaṁdhālesu Lathika-Pitthakesu*

- (iv) Introduction of gen. in the midst of locatives. *evameva hiāa raja-visavaspi Yona-Kambojesu Nabhaka-Nābhikā Bhoja-Pitthakesu ākramamāsati anuvataṁhi*, S. 13, R ; but the versions at K and M give loc. instead. cf. *Nābhaka-Nābhikapantisu*. (The G version is deformed).

3. The Girnar version suggests that these are regarded as fem. forms then they can equally be

5. Locative case :

(a) Loc. for dat. :

(i) *paṛisā pi yute āṇapayisati gaṇanāyaṃ* G (RE, 3, E).

(b) Loc. for gen.

(i) *jīvesu anālaṃbhe sādhu*, D and J, 3, D ; but other versions give gen. cf. *prāṇānaṃ sādhu anāraṃbho* G (RE, 3, D). Even D and J give gen. as in other versions in RE, 4, C, cf. *anālaṃbhe pāṇānaṃ*.

§ 161. Peculiarities of Concord.

1. Concord of subject and predicate.

(a) *jana* construed with sg. and pl. *jane dhamma-susuṣā susuṣātu* (sg.) *me ti dhamma-vataṃ vā anuvidhiyaṃtu* (pl.) *ti* K, 10, A ; but S and M use sg. in both places.(b) For the use of a collective noun in singular also cf. *save catupade* (sg.) *ye paṭibhogāṃ no cti na ca khādiyati* RE, 5 B,(c) The predicate *asti* (*atthi*) is used with nom. pl.(i) *asti pi tu ekacā samājā sādhumatā* G (RE, 1, E).(ii) *iyaṃ dhammalibī ata atthi silāthaṃbhāni vā* *tata kaṭaviyā* T, 7, SS.(d) Similarly *nāsti* (*natthi*) is used with nom. pl.(i) *osudhāni* *yata yata nāsti* G (RE, 2, B); for similar use also cf. RE, 3, c and 13, J.(ii) *yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā* G (RE, 7, E).

(e) Sg. predicate with plural subject.

(i) *dhāṃmāpckhā dhammakāmatā cā* *vaḍhīsati* PE, 1, D.

(f) Pl. predicate used with nom. sg.

(i) *paṛisā pi ca yatāni gaṇanasi anapayisaṃti* K, 3, E. Similar construction occurs in S version also. But G, M and J use the predicate in sg.(ii) *ye hi kecha ata-pāśaḍa paṇāti* *kiti ata-pāśaṃḍa dipayema* K, 12, H. The versions at G and M similarly give the plural forms of √*dipa-* but the S version gives singular *dipayami*.(iii) *kayānaṃmeva āckhaṃti iyaṃ me kayāne kaṭe ti*, Rdh, Mth, RP, 3, B ; but T and Ksb give sg. *āckhati*.(iv) *taṃ loke anūpaṭipannaṃ taṃ ca anuvidhiyaṃti* T, 7, GG.

2. Concord of Noun and Adjective.

I. Gender :

(a) Adj. agrees with mas. when the substantives are mas. and fem.

vivāde nijhati vā saṃtaṃ (= *saṃto*), RE, 6, F.

(b) Adj. used in neut. when it qualifies different genders.

(i) *imāni āsīnavagāṃīni nāma attha caṃḍiye niḥkūliye kodhe māne isyā* RE, 3, F.(c) Mas. is referred to by *kāni* and *nāni* in neuter.(i) *nātikā va kāni nijhapayisaṃti* PE, 4, M ; also cf. PE, 5, C ; 6, C.(ii) *kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ānaṃṇaṃ gaccheyāṃ idha ca nāni sukhāpāyāmi* G (RE, 6, L).

(a) nom. sg. adj. construed with pl. substantive. *yena ete abhītā asvatha samītanī*, PE, 4, J.

(a) Nominative singular absolute :

- (i) *hevaṃ ca kalamāṇāṃ* (nom.) *tuphe caghattha saṃpaṭipādayitave* d, 1, X; for other uses cf. d, 2, L and P; mk. Section G.
- (ii) *pātayaṇtāṃ* j, 1, S and T.
- (iii) *saṃtāṃ* j, 2, Q; PE, 4, J. cf. LÜDERS, SPAIV 1913. 1010.
- (iv) *nāsaṃtāṃ* PE, 4, M. cf. LÜDERS, ibid. 1913. 1023.
- (v) *-pajāntāṃ*, T, 7, PP.
- (vi) *duāhale* d, 1, T. cf. HULTZSCH, Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 95, f.n. 13.
- (vii) The form *karuṇ* occurring at G, 11, E and 12, F is of nom. absolute according to Senart, Bühler and Hultzsch.

(b) Genitive singular absolute :

- (i) *adamānasā me paṭivedakā aḥam vedetu,*
K (RE, 6, D).

(c) Locative singular absolute :

- (i) *adhunā ladhesu Kalīngesu tīvo dhanimavāyo*, G (RE, 13, C).

§ 163. To denote time various cases are used.

- (a) Nom. : *sātīleke cu chavachare ru, 1, D* (cf. other versions of MRE).

(b) Acc :

- (i) *atikātani amītarani* G (RE, 4, A); for similar use cf. Major RE. 5, H; 6, B; 8, A.
- (ii) *sālīrēkāni adhatiyāni vasāni* Kpb. B (also cf. other MRE).

(c) Inst. :

- (i) *bahūhi vāsa-satehi* G (RE, 4, C).
 (ii) *iminā ca kālena amisā munisā devehi* yr. 4-5.

(d) Dat. :

- (i) *dighāya* 'in distant (future)' G, 10, A; other versions, however, use loc. cf. *āyatiye* and *ayatiya*.
(ii) *yā imāya kālāya . . . amisā devā husu . . .* ru, E; but *inst* ^{is} used in *etena ca amātena*, s, E and *iminā kūlena*, br, F.

(e) Loc. :

- (i) *pañcasu pañcasu vāsesu* G (RE, 3, C).
(ii) *save kāle*, G, 6, D and F; but other versions give acc. *ē* ~~and~~
kālaṃ.
(iii) *tīsu cātummāsīsu* (loc.) *tisāyaṃ punnamāsīyaṃ* ~~acc.~~
divasāni (acc.) *cāvudasaṃ pañnaḍasaṃ paṭipadeṃ* ~~acc.~~
cā anuṇṇaṇṇaṃ macche avadhiye T, 5, H: ~~acc.~~
other versions of this edict, Mi gives *paṭipadeṃ* ~~acc.~~
and Rdh, Mthi and Rp give *paṭipadeṃ* ~~acc.~~
(iv) *se imāyaṃ velāyaṃ* *amīsā d*

§ 164. Some peculiar constructions :

(a) Change in construction is observed in :—

te sava-pāsāṇḍesu vyāpata dhāmadhiṣṭānāya ye vā pi aṇṇā āparātā G, (RE, 5, J). Here the change in the construction is made from *ye vā* but some such word as *tesu* is omitted at the end.

(b) Similarly the construction is broken in section M of the RE 5 at G, K, S and M. cf. *savesu olodhanesu e vā pi aṇṇe nāṭikye savatā viyāpaṭā* (K version). But the D version reads : *savesu olodhanesu aṇṇesu vā nāṭikesu*

(c) *ta mama putā ca potā ca param ca tena ya me apacāṇ anuvāṭisare tathā so sukataṇ kāsati* G, 5, E. Here the sg. construction in *so sukataṇ kāsati* in spite of the plural in antecedent is noteworthy. All other versions give the plural construction in its stead.

INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA IN THE LIGHT OF PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS

The grammars of different Prakrit languages were written at a very late stage when all the Prakrit dialects in them had assumed a more or less standardised literary form. They were then no longer in the process of formation as most of the characteristics which distinguished them from one another had come to become normal. The inscriptions of Aśoka, on the other hand, represent a very early stage in the development of MĀHĀ dialects. If we were to except a few Prakritisms in Vedic Sanskrit, a few Prakrit words quoted by Sanskrit grammarians, and the Prakrit inscription on the Pataliputra and the Saurashtra copper plate (L 931 and L 937), the inscriptions of Aśoka are the oldest to be found in MĀHĀ dialects. It may, therefore, be assumed that the inscriptions show at least in certain cases the starting point of the changes which needed only a day's exaggeration by later grammarians. It would be wrong to suppose that at such an early stage as the inscriptions represent such phonetic changes as the change of intervocalic sibilants to sonants or loss of intervocalic stops should have any sweeping force. Such changes are therefore only restricted in their scope and are useful only in showing the tendencies of a particular region.

It would therefore be profitable to correlate the results of the studies in Phonology and Morphology of these inscriptions to the treatment of various dialects given by Prakrit grammarians. Of these grammarians the following discussion takes into account only Vararuci, the oldest Prakrit grammarian, and Hemacandra for having given an exhaustive treatment to the study of Prakrits. Though these grammarians enumerate a large number of Prakrits they treat of only three or four principal Prakrits in details viz. the MĀHĀHĀHĀ, Sauraseni, Māgadhī and Pāṭalī. For our present purpose we may leave aside the question of Pāṭalī, as the problem of its original home is not yet finally settled. Among the rest, MĀHĀHĀHĀ may roughly correspond to the Western inscriptions of Aśoka, Māgadhī to the Eastern and Sauraseni to the Central Indian inscriptions. We have at present no knowledge of a Prakrit deriving its name from a Southern country and which would have corresponded with the Southern inscriptions of Aśoka. The purpose of the present chapter is to compare, wherever possible, the dialectal variations noted by the grammarians with the regional distinctions observed in Aśokan inscriptions. This will enable us to see how far the later tendencies witnessed in literary Prakrits have any historical bearing.

PHONOLOGY

1. Vowels : The treatment of the vowel *r* is not so specifically dealt with by the grammarians as to point to any dialectal distinction. It is, however, studied by some of the modern scholars who point out that the *r* > *a* treatment is predominant in the West and the South and that the *r* > *i* treatment in other regions.¹ This distinction

1. J. BUCH, *La Formation de la langue Marāṭhi*, 331; S. H. CHATTERJEE, *Bengali Language*, 1137; PRICHARD, *Gr. Phil. Spr.*, 149-51; GEIGER, by WOLFFER in his *Introduction to Pāṭ.*, 390.

finds an exact reflection in the Aś. inscriptions in as much as the $r > a$ treatment is the principal one in the Western and the $r > i$ treatment in the non-Western regions.

As regards the change in the quantity of the vowels before consonant clusters, though Hemacandra expresses himself in a definite manner in the Sūtras 1.43, 84 and 2.92, Vararuci is astonishingly silent about it. "Are we therefore to interpret", asks COWELL in his edition of the *Prākṛta-Prakāśa* by Vararuci (second issue, p. 186) "the silence of Vararuci as evidence that the principle in question grew up gradually in Prākṛit, and only became fully recognised in later times?" This statement is to a certain extent borne out by the Aś. inscriptions. Hemacandra makes only a qualified statement in laying down that short vowels are lengthened in the metrically long syllables (cf. 1.43 and 2.92). In Aś. inscriptions we find that short vowels in this position are only occasionally lengthened in the non-Western regions. They undergo this change in the West only in rare cases. According to Hemacandra, however, the change of long vowels before consonant clusters is of a sweeping nature (1.84) without any dialectal distinction. But in the inscriptions of Aśoka we notice that long vowels, except \bar{u} , are usually shortened in the regions other than the West where they are normally preserved. The long vowel \bar{u} is, however, shortened in all regions with only a few exceptions.

II. Simple Consonants : It is mostly in this sphere that the dialectal variations in Prakrits are recognised by the grammarians. The elision of intervocal single consonant is a singular characteristic of Māhārāṣṭrī (V. 2.2 ; II. 1.177). This compares well with Aś. inscriptions where this tendency is met with only in the West and the N.-West, though in a restricted number of cases. Thus the elements of a tendency later on exaggerated in the Māhārāṣṭrī literature may be regarded to have been found in the corresponding region in the days of Aśoka.

The change of $-t- > -d-$ (also $t > d-$) and of $-th- > -dh-$ is one of the salient features of Śaurasēnī (V. 12.3 ; H. 4.260-2 and 267) and Māgadhī (H. on 4.302). The change of $t > d-$ and of $-t- > -d-$ is only exceptionally met with in the North and the N.-West. This early Northern characteristic seems to have developed later on into a characteristic feature of the non-Western dialects. The change of $-th- > -dh-$ is however, not noticed in the Aś. inscriptions.²

In the treatment of the palatal j and the semi-vowel y it may be gathered that the later usage does not quite correspond to the earlier tendencies. The grammarians lay down that intervocal $-j-$ is dropped and sometimes $-y-$ is developed in its stead in Māhārāṣṭrī (H. 1.177, 180), but it is invariably changed to y , both initially and medially, in Māgadhī (V. 11.4 ; H. 4.292). In the Aś. inscriptions, loss of intervocal $-j-$ is not met with and the change of $-j- > -y-$ is obtained not in the East so as to be a characteristic of Māgadhī later on, but in the N.-West. With regard to y it is prescribed that whereas it is preserved in Māgadhī (H. 4.292) it is changed to j - or $-j-$ in other languages (V. 2.31 ; H. 1.248). But in the inscriptions of Aśoka intervocal $-y- > -j-$ only in a few cases in the East and the N.-West. Then again initially y - is lost mostly in the indeclinables and relative pronouns in the Eastern dialect of

2. For the first appearance of this characteristic in a little later inscriptions cf. *radha-* (< Sk. *ratha-*), *padhama-* (< Sk. *prathama-*), etc. in the Udayagiri inscription (L 1345) in the East and *kadhikā-* (< Sk. *kathika-*) etc. in the Amaravati inscriptions (EI 15.270.40) in the South.

Aśoka and not in the Western. Intervocally, however, *-p-* is preserved in the East, its elision being restricted only to the N.-West.

The cerebral nasal *ṇ* is preserved in all Prakrits except Pali where it is changed to the dental *n* (V. 10.5 ; II. 4.306). As this feature distinguishes all other Prakrits from Pali it is worth while to note that it is the Eastern dialect of Aśoka's time which agrees with Pali in this respect. The cerebral *ṇ* is preserved in the West, N.-West and the South in those days.³

The change of *r* to *l* in all positions forms one of the principal characteristics of Māgadhī according to the grammarians (II. 4.288). This change is optional in *saṁskṛta*, more frequent in Ardha-Māgadhī and a few instances have been recorded where it occurs in Māhārāṣṭrī (V. 2.30). This treatment of the semivowel *r* is definitely borne out by the inscriptions of Aśoka which point out that *l* was substituted for *r* in the court language of Magadha but not in that of the West, N.-West (and the South).

consonant of *Al* has come to have been later on incorporated by Sauraseni and Māhārāṣṭri.

Gradual change of dentals under the influence of *r*, *ṛ* or a sibilant is noticed by certain inscriptions, a feature common to all Prakrits. The Western dialect of the inscriptions of Aśoka, however, clearly distinguishes itself from others by the preservation of the dental in a large number of cases. The cerebralisation in Māhārāṣṭri, Pāṇini seems to have been a later development under the Eastern influence. Similarly the cerebralisation of *n* to *ṇ* in all positions is a later development of the literary Prakrit (V. 7.32; II. 1.228-9) which is not noticed so strongly in the earlier stages. In the structure of *Al* *fa* *m* is preserved in all versions except the one at Koptāl in H. 1. II the Nizami's Dominions where *m* > *ṇ* and *-m* > *-ṇ* in all cases. Intervocalic *-m* also in the West and the N-West. Even in terminations the cerebralisation *-m* > *-ṇ* is replaced by the dental *-m* in all versions except those at Mysore and Koptāl in the South.

The cluster *gñ* is cerebralized to *-ṇṇ-* in Māhārāṣṭri and Sauraseni (V. 3.44; 128; II. 2.32), but palatalized to *-ññ-* in Māgadhī (II. 4.293) and Pāṭiācī (II. 4.1.6.1). But in the inscription of Aśoka the palatal treatment is noticed only in the West (and sometime in the N-West), the Eastern, Central and the Northern inscriptions assimilating it to *-gh-*. The cerebral treatment, again, is observed in the two distant corners viz. the N-Western and Southern inscriptions.

The change of intervocalic sonants to surds, both aspirate and unaspirate, forms the salient feature of Pāṭiācī (and Cūlikī-Pāṭiācī) Prakrit (V. 10.3; II. 4.307, 325). This type of change is only sporadically observed in the inscriptions of Aśoka. But the important point of note, which may contribute towards deciding of the original home of Pāṭiācī, is that whereas in the case of *-g* > *-k* the change is observed in N-West and the South, the change of *-j* > *-c* (or *-d* > *-t*) may be regarded to have started in the East.

III. Consonant Clusters : The principles of assimilation and others which have simplified Sk. clusters in literary Prakrits are seen working in the inscriptions of Aśoka also. A few peculiarities, however, may be discussed below.

(i) Clusters with stops : The change of *-cch-* > *-śc-* noticed in Māgadhī (II. 4.295) is not witnessed in any version of the Aś. inscriptions. Then again Māgadhī has some clusters with sibilants. Thus *-ll-* and *-ṣlh-* > *-ṣl-* in Māgadhī (H. 4.290 also 289). Now the cluster *-ṣlh-* normally becomes *-lh-* (or *-th-*) in the non-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. It is preserved as *-ṣl-* but not in the East, as one may expect from its later appearance as a Māgadhī characteristic, but in the Girnar version of the Rock Edicts in the West. Similarly *-stlh-* and *-ṛth-* > *-st-* in Māgadhī (H. 4.291). But these clusters become *-th-* or *-lh-* in Aśokan inscriptions except in the West where it is preserved in the form *-ṣl-* seen in later Māgadhī. As these special treatments which are peculiar to later Māgadhī are seen only in the West in the Aśokan inscriptions and are not available even in the later Prakrit inscriptions in the East (e.g. the Ramgarh cave inscriptions L 920-L921; Bodh-Gayā inscriptions L 939-L948; Udaya-

5. Partial cerebralisation of *n* is witnessed in all later Prakrit inscriptions, the tendency towards cerebralisation getting stronger from the beginning of the Christian era. The complete change of *n* > *ṇ* is felt in the 3rd and 4th cent. A.D. copper plates. Cf. L 1194, L 1200, EI 26.137ff., etc.

giri and Khandagiri cave inscriptions L 1342-L 1353) it is very difficult to say when this characteristic went over from West to East.

(ii) Clusters with *y* : The cluster *ry* submits to many changes in later literary Prakrits. cf. *-ry-* > *rla* (V. 3.20 ; H. 2.107, also 67) ; *-ry-* > *-r-* (V. 3.18-19 ; H. 2.63-64) ; *-ry-* > *-ara-* and *-rijj-* (H. 2.67). All these treatments show highly developed phonetic changes. They are therefore not expected to appear in the inscriptions of Aśoka. In them we find only the treatment *-ry-* > *-riy-*, *-liy-*, or *-y-*.

The preservation of the cluster *ry* in all positions which forms the Western characteristic in Aśokan period is not observed by later grammarians as in course of time even this regional tendency must have been obliterated.

(iii) Clusters with *r* : It is enjoined by the grammarians that such clusters should always be assimilated. They notice, however, optional preservation only in the case of *dr* (V. 3.3-4 ; H. 2.79-80). We have seen in the treatment of such clusters that they were often preserved in the N.-Western and the Western inscriptions of Aśoka. Thus it appears that even these clusters together with others came to be assimilated in all regions during the period of the Pkt. grammarians.

(iv) - Clusters with *v* : A dialectal variation in the treatment of the cluster *rv* is noticed by Hemacandra. Whereas it is assimilated to *-vv-* in other Prakrits, it is dissolved into *-rav-* or *-lav-* in Śaurasenī and Māgadhi (H. 4.270 and on 4.302). In the Aś. inscriptions the cluster *rv* is either preserved or assimilated to *-v-* in the West and the N.-West. In the East (and the North), besides being assimilated to *-v-*, it is sometimes dissolved, as in Māgadhi, but with this distinction that the dissolved form is *-luv-* and not *-lav-*.

(v) Clusters with sibilants : The changes of the cluster *kṣ* to *kh* or *ch* are already noticed above under palatalisation. Further it may be mentioned here that the occasional change of *kṣ* > *-sk-* noticed by grammarians as a Māgadhi feature (V. 11.8 ; H. 4.297) is never met with in the Aś. inscriptions.

(vi) Clusters with nasals :

(a) With the nasal *ñ* : The treatment of the cluster *-ññ-* > *-ṇṇ-* or *-ññ-* is already discussed above. A curious treatment of this cluster by which it is sometimes changed to *-j-* or *-jj-* in the literary Prakrits (V. 3.5 ; H. 2.83) is not found in Aś. inscriptions. The cluster *-ñj-* is assimilated to *-ññ-* in Māgadhi according to Hemacandra (4.293). It is only the Shāhbāzgarhi version in the N.-West which corresponds to this Māgadhi characteristic by changing *-ñj-* > *-ñ-* ; otherwise the cluster is represented as *-ññj-* or *-j-*.

(b) With the nasals *ṇ* and *n* : The clusters *ṇy* and *ny* are always palatalised to *ññ* in Māgadhi and Paisāci according to Hemacandra (4. 293 and 305). They are cerebralised to *-ṇṇ-* in other Prakrits. But in the inscriptions of Aśoka the palatal treatment is not witnessed in the East, it being confined to the N.-West and the West. In the East the clusters are assimilated to the dental nasal *n*. The cerebral treatment, though rare, forms again the characteristic of the Mānsehrā version in the N.-West.

(c) With the nasal *m* : The Cluster *-tm-* is mostly changed to *-pp-* in Māhārāṣṭrī and to *-pp-* or *-tt-* in other Prakrits. (V. 3.48 ; H. 2.51 seems to allow both forms in Māhārāṣṭrī). In Aśokan inscriptions the cluster is preserved as *-tp-* in the Western and the Southern divisions but assimilated to *-t-* elsewhere. Thus this Aśokan Western characteristic of *-tm-* > *-tp-* seems to have been further developed into *-tm-* > *-tp-* > *-pp-* as a predominant feature of Māhārāṣṭrī.

MORPHOLOGY

The dialectal variations in the declensional and the conjugational systems of the literary Prakrits are not many, and thus most of the regional variations noticed in the second chapter on Morphology seem to have been obliterated later on. Still a few peculiarities may be discussed below.

I. Declension : The nom. sg. term. *-e* in Māgadhi for the stems ending in *-a* (V. 11.10 ; H. 4.287) is definitely reflected in the Eastern dialect of the inscriptions of Aśoka. The nom. sg. neut. *-e* found in the Aśokan Eastern dialect is, however, not met with later on in Māgadhi which gives with other Prakrits the term *-am*.

The nom. acc. pl. neut., the inst. sg., and the gen. pl. terminations of some stems always show a cerebral *-ṛ-* in the literary Prakrits. As has been already noticed, only a beginning is made in this direction in the Southern inscriptions of Aśoka, all others and even some of the Southern inscriptions show the dental *-r-* in terminations.

The optional term. *-āha* for gen. sg. and *-ham* for gen. pl. which are found in Māgadhi (V. 11.12 ; H. 4.239, 300) are never witnessed in Aś. inscriptions.

The instr., dat., abl. and gen. sg. terminations of the fem. nouns always preserve *-y-* in the endings *-yā* or *-ye* in the Aś. inscriptions. The literary Prakrits, however, never preserve this *-y-* of the terminations. They are again definitely richer in terminations for these cases than the inscriptions of Aśoka.

The nom. sg. of stems in *-i* and *-u* show either a short or long *i* and *u* at the end in the inscriptions. The literary Prakrits always end in *-ī-* and *-ū-* in these cases.

Among the stems ending in *-r* a noteworthy feature which appears in a single inscription of Aśoka and very often in the later Prakrit inscriptions but which never figures in the literary Prakrits is the gen. sg. term. *-u* coming directly from the Sk. ending *-ul* in such form as *mātūḷ*.

The instances of the consonantal declension are not many. Though in general such bases are transferred to the corresponding vowel bases, the Aś. inscriptions preserve more Sk. forms, with the necessary phonetic changes, than the literary Prakrits. Thus for example, the instr. sg. of *-at* stem in Aś. inscriptions ends in *-ā* (cf. *dhagavātā*, *hcturātā*) instead of *-eṭa* as in literary Prakrits. In the declension of *-an* and *-in* stems, however, even the literary Prakrits preserve some of the forms of the corresponding Sanskrit declension.

In the forms of Pronouns also there is not much to distinguish one literary Prakrit from the other. As compared with inscriptions the peculiar form *hage* used in Māgadhi for nom. pl. of the first personal pronoun is not found in the Aś. inscriptions. On the contrary some of the inscriptional bases as *apā-* and *tupā-* for the first and second personal pronouns respectively become obsolete in the literary Prakrits. There are also a few other peculiar forms in the Aś. inscriptions which are all detailed above in the chapter on Morphology.

II. Conjugation : In this sphere also there is not much to discuss from the view point of dialectal distinctions. The change of *-t-* > *-c-* in third pers. sg. term. is noticed in Śauraseni and Māgadhi (H. 4.273 and H. on 4.302). This intervocal *-t-* is characteristically lost in Māhārāṣṭrī which then gives terminations like *-ī*, *-u* etc. This *-t-* is preserved only in the Paisāci Prakrit (H. 4.318-19). These phonetic changes mark a clear advanced stage and as such are absent in the Aś. inscriptions. Similarly the change *-th-* > *-dh-* in the term. of the second per. pl. in Imperative is found

in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī; but it is absent in Aś. inscriptions.⁶ The regional distinctions wherever they occur in the inscriptions, as for example the terminations of the middle voice in the West almost to the exclusion of all other regions, are already noticed above and hence they are not noted here.

The formatives of the participles in the literary Prakrits differ among themselves only in this respect that whereas the intervocal *-l-* > *-d-* in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, its occlusion is lost in Māhārāṣṭrī. As is noticed above this stage of phonetic development is not reached in the days of Aśoka. The other point which deserves notice is that the *-n-* in the formative of the middle present participle is cerebralised to *-ṇ-* in literary Prakrits. But for a few instances of similar cerebralisation in the South, this dental *-n-* is always preserved in Aś. inscriptions.

The endings of the Absolutes are rather confused in the literary Prakrits. The term. *-tūṇam*⁷ figures in all literary Prakrits but except for the form *abhivādetūṇam* in the Bhābrā edict it is quite absent in Aś. inscriptions. The term. *-ttā*⁸ which is noticed by Hemacandra in his commentary on the sūtra 2.271 in the treatment of Śaurasenī language is also absent in these inscriptions. On the contrary we get *-tpā* in the West and *-tu* in other regions in the Aś. inscriptions. The archaic term. *-ti* (< Vedic *-trī*) noted in the N.-Western dialect naturally does not survive in the later period.

Thus it appears that some of the distinguishing characteristics of later Prakrits are reflected in the corresponding regional variations observed in Aś. inscriptions. One important fact which emerges from this correlation is that some of the characteristics of later Māgadhī were current in the West (or N.-West) rather than in the East in the days of Aśoka. It has been already remarked that some of these western characteristics are not apparent even in the Eastern Prakrit inscriptions of later period. But together with this it must also be remembered that sufficient inscriptional material after the period of Khāravēla's inscriptions in the East is not available. So long as such data are not available in the East the date of the movement of the Western characteristics towards the East will remain a moot point. Then again the question regarding the reasons which led to the incorporating of these foreign elements in the Eastern dialect will have to be faced. In this connection it may be noted that after the fall of Maurya empire Magadha never came into prominence till the rise of the Guptas. But it is very difficult to decide at this stage the extent to which these events in the political history of India had their reaction on the linguistic movements.

6. The voicing of *-th-* in term. does not appear even in later Pkt. inscriptions until we come to the 4th cent. A.D. Bāsim copper plates, cf. *rakkhadha*, *rakkhāpedha*, etc. EI 26.153 lines 25, 26, etc.

7. This term becomes more frequent in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. inscriptions of S. India cf. L 1200, L 1202, L 1203, etc. also cf. Nāgārjuni Kōṇḍa inscriptions.

8. It occurs in the 4th cent. A.D. copper plates at Bāsim (E. 26.153, line 25) in the form *karettā*.

ASOKAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

A complete Bibliography of Aśokan inscriptions has for a long time remained a desideratum awaiting fulfilment as early as possible. It is true that some scholars like Franke, Smith and D. R. Bhandarkar have added Bibliographical notes to their works on Aśoka (see below Nos. 135, 375, 377, 28) and that HULTZSCH has given the chronology of all earlier studies undertaken by various scholars with regard to a particular inscription. Yet numerous articles by eminent scholars have appeared since HULTZSCH's publication of CII Vol. 1 in 1925. The following Bibliography has been prepared with a view to making it as exhaustive and up to date as possible by including all earlier and recent studies of scholars in various countries and in as many languages. Due to the wartime emergency conditions present at the time when this Essay was prepared some of the latest issues of Periodicals dealing with Indology as well as a few earlier and rare books and articles could not be availed of by me. This attempt is, therefore, restricted to the Books and Periodicals which I could obtain in Western India, and as such I offer my apologies to readers for some omissions that may have remained in the list below. Such works as I myself could not consult and the details of which are due to second hand reference have been indicated in the following list with an asterisk mark. Still there remain some Periodicals containing articles dealing with Aśokan inscriptions even the details about which could not be given, and all these incomplete references have been given at the end. I shall therefore be obliged if the readers will give me suggestions to improve this Bibliography and send me information regarding the incomplete references and the likely omissions.

Besides being as exhaustive as possible, there is another important feature of this Bibliography. It does not merely enumerate the names of authors and their works but also tries to give in short, and if possible in the author's own words, the nature of their contents. The personal history of Aśoka and the early history of Buddhism require to be substantiated by the evidence offered by these inscriptions and hence important works dealing with these subjects merit mention in this Bibliography. It is hoped that the present effort will be useful to all those who undertake the study of these inscriptions from any point of view.¹

The different works and articles of a single author have been enumerated in a chronological order, unless there is a series of articles under a common title which is then brought together.

1. AGRAWALLA, V. S. "Vacasi in Rock-Edict VI of Aśoka", *IHQ.* 15.143-46. 1939.

Vacasi = "a privy or bathroom".

2. AIYANGAR, S. K. "Agniskandha and the Fourth Rock Edict of Aśoka", *IA.* 44.203-06. 1915 and *JRAS* 1915. 521-27. Interpretation of various terms occurring in this Edict. *Aggikhaṇḍa* is exactly the Tamil *Ṣokkappaṇai*, a festival in honour of Viṣṇu Trivikrama.

1. For the subjective classification of the entries given below the reader is requested to refer to the Note on Bibliography added at the end.

3. AIYANGAR, S. K. "Satiyaputra of the Asoka Edicts", JRAS. 1919. 581-84.
".... could it (Satiyaputra) not be the collective name of the various matriarchal communities like the Tujus and the Nāyars of the Malabar and Kanara districts of today?"
4. AIYANGAR, S. K. "The Kosar of Tamil literature and the Satiyaputra of Asokan Inscriptions". JRAS 1923. 609-13. Some difficulties are pointed out in identifying Satiyaputra with Kosar (as suggested by Mr. Subramanian. See below No. 380).
5. AIYANGAR, S. K. "Satiyaputra". JIII. 14.276-79. 1935. A discussion of some researches by V. R. R. Dikshitar, B. A. Saletore and others. "In our present state of knowledge, we have to regard it as a kingdom or a state under some other form of government, in all probability to the north or north-west of the three well-known southern kingdoms".
6. AIYER, V. Gopal. "The Date of Buddha". IA. 37.341-50. 1908. The evidence of Aśokan inscriptions having been taken into account, it incidentally contains discussion on dates in Aśoka's reign.
P. 345, footnote 8. *savaccharam* (occurring in the Minor Rock Edict). Some scholars would take this word to mean one year. But in the face of the corresponding words *saḍvacchale* (*saḍ* = 6) and *chhavachhare* (*chh* = 6) used respectively in the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth versions, such interpretation seems incorrect.
Pp. 346-47. The No. 256 is a date beginning with the year of Buddha's death. The person denoted by '*vyūtha*' or '*vivutha*' which simply means 'departed', however, does not refer to Buddha (see below Fleet, No. 121) but to Aśoka himself who had probably just then 'departed' to the other world.
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A. Characteristics of Aśoka Māgadhī.
B. Aśoka Māgadhī and Ardha-Māgadhī.
C. Aśoka Māgadhī and Māgadhī-Grammatical and Dramatic.
9. BARNETT, L. D. "The Early History of Southern India." CHI I. pp. 593-603. 1922. Satiyaputas may be connected with the Śātakarṇis (p. 599, fn. 3).
10. *BARTH, M. Revue de l'histoire des Religions. 5.239f. Paris. 1882.
The author declares that the titles mentioned in the Bairāt-bhābrā edict do not prove the existence of the Buddhist canon. [Cf. Winternitz, Hist. Ind. Lit. II. 608].
11. BARUA, B. M. "A Note on the Bhabra Edict". JRAS. 1915. 805-10. *Vinaya-samukase* = Sigālovāda-suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya.
12. BARUA, B. M. "Inscriptional Excursions in Respect of Aśoka Edicts." IHQ. 2.82-128. 1926.

Some interesting topics are :

- (a) '*anusamīyāna*' is not the same as '*anusamīññamāna*'. pp. 88-89.
- (b) Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical Ājīvikas. pp. 89-92.
- (c) Chronology of the Edicts. pp. 92-124.
- (d) Significance of *nijhapayisaṃti*, *nijhāti*, *vaca* (is connected with musical entertainments and similar pastimes), *vacabhūmikā* and *anusamīyāna*. pp. 125-128.

13. BARUA, B. M. "The Yerragudi Copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict." IHQ. 9.113-20. 1933. Text, Trans. and Notes.
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cinṭa (i) a well-trained horse or (ii) a vehicle.

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29. BHANDARKAR, D. R. "Aśokan Notes." Dr. Modi Memorial Vol. pp. 445-50. 1930.

- (1) *Sambodhi* in the Rock Edict VIII : it means the 'Bo Tree' where Buddha obtained Enlightenment.
- (2) *Ayaputa* in Mysore Inscriptions : it denotes the yuvarāja or crown-prince who carried on administration during the temporary absence of Aśoka from his capital.
- (3) *Dharma* in the Aśoka Edicts : *Dharma* taught by Aśoka was inspired by Buddhism.

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2. *Bhāṣamayesu* of RE V. (Kālsī) : < *bhṛta-maya* : Hired labourer, a hierling.
3. *Nāsaṃta* in IE IV. : > *nāśa* + *anta* = End (*anta*) which is Destruction (*nāśa*) referring to *mṛtyu* or death. *nijhapayisaṃti* = will propitiate.
4. *Dharma-thaṃbha* and a lacuna occurring in PE VII. The word stands not for any material pillars, but rather for spiritual columns in the form of charitable works detailed in Sections Q-W. The author also maintains that some introductory words have been inadvertently omitted before *dhammapadāṇaḥāye dhammānupaṭṭi*. DD section of Hultzsch's

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(b) *ayāya sambodhiṃ* : real meaning seems to be that 'Aśoka himself became a Buddha'. pp. 140-41.
(c) *saṃgha*—Council or gatherings. pp. 141-42.

(d) *Cytherea*, *Parisi* and *Parisiyos* refer to the *Assam* or *Manstein*, pp. 142-43.

(e) *Bhāru* Edict : Purpose of the Edict pp. 143-44.

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*R. Pischel. *The Academy*, August 1877, p. 145.

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Part I. (a) General and detailed account of the Inscriptions (including the Deotek Slab). pp. 1-42. (b) Texts (in Roman with plates) and translation. His translation accompanies the available translations by Prinsep, Wilson, Burnouf and Bühler. pp. 65-141.
Part II. (a) Language of the Inscriptions. pp. 43-8. (b) Alphabetical characters. pp. 49-63.
93. DAVIDS, Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys. "Aśoka, Heir of the way", Indian Art and Letters, 14. (NS.) 46-53. 1940.
"Whatever be the truth about the monkhood of Aśoka's closing years, it is in the Edicts that he is shown a true heir of Gotama's way of the Worlds."
94. DAVIDS, T. W. RHYS. "On the Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon". The International Numismata Orientalia. pp. 57-60. London. 1877. Supplementary note on the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth Edict. The author points out that the edict is not certainly and necessarily Buddhist.
95. DAVIDS, T. W. RHYS. "Note on some of the titles used in the Bhabra Edict of Aśoka". JPTS. 1896. 93-98. London.
Aśoka does not refer to books but makes a selection of seven passages only from the Piṭakas. The article contains also some notes on identifications.
96. DAVIDS, T. W. Rhys. "The Sambodhi in Asoka's Eighth Edict". JRAS. 1898. 619-22.
"There would seem to be no sufficient reason why we should not understand Aśoka to mean that he had started, in his own opinion, along the Eightfold Path, towards the attainment, doubtless in some future birth, of Arhatship".

97. DAVIDS, T. W. Rhys. "Asoka's Bhabra Edict" JRAS 1898. 639-40. Identification of *Vinaya-samukamśa* etc.
98. DAVIDS, T. W. Rhys. Dialogues of the Buddha. Sacred Books of the Buddhists. Vol. II. London. 1899.
 - (i) Preface, p. xiii ff. "It is clear that in Aśoka's time there was acknowledged to be an authoritative literature, . . . , containing what was then believed to be the words of the Buddha."
 - (ii) pp. 190-191. *sambodhi* = insight of the higher stages of the path to Arhatship.
- 99.* DAVIDS, T. W. Rhys. Milinda. Vol. I. p. xxxviii. For Bhābrū edict.
100. DAVIDS, T. W. Rhys. Buddhist India, London. 1903.
 - (i) For identification of *ariyaratāni*, *anāgata-bhayāni*, *muni-gāthā*, *monya-sutta*, *upaliṣṣa paṣina* in the Bhābrū Edict, see pp. 169-70.
 - (ii) For a chapter on Aśoka, see pp. 272-307.
- 101.* DEB, H. K. Aśoka's Dhammalipis. Calcutta. 1919.
102. DEB, H. K. "Notes on some edicts of Aśoka". JPASB. 16 (NS). 331-37. 1920.

RE VI. Notes on *dāpake*, *stāvāpake* and *mahāmātra*.

PE. V. A quotation from Arthaśāstra relating to *bandhanamokṣa*.

PE. VI. Note on *pāpara*.
103. DEB, H. K. "The Svastika and the Omkāra". JPASB. 17 (NS). 231-47. 1921. Association of *ma* in the Jaugada version of the two separate edicts with the svastika sign p. 233.
104. DIKSHITAR, V. R. R. The History of Early Buddhism in India. JBHS 2.51-74. 1929.

Aśoka was neither a Buddhist nor a Jaina, but a follower of the established religion of the land, what we may now call the earlier form of Hinduism. (p. 72).
105. DIKSHITAR, V. R. R. "Asoka's Religion—The Evidence of Archaeology". JOR. 4.267-81. 1930.

" . . . the monuments of Aśoka cannot carry conviction home to decide the religious leaning of the Emperor to Buddhism".
106. DIKSHITAR, V. R. R. The Mauryan Polity. Madras. 1932.

Ch. I. Section (iv) Inscriptions of Aśoka. pp. 27-48.

Ch. VII. Section (iii) Aśoka's Dharma. pp. 250-59. Section (V) Aśoka's Personal Religion. pp. 276-99.
107. DIKSHITAR, V. R. R. "Dharma Vijaya : A New Interpretation. Dr. K. B. Pathak Comm. Vol. pp. 280-286. 1934.

" . . . the term *dharmavijaya* has nothing to do with the doctrine of Buddhism, but is a healthy method of righteous war which Aśoka advocated."
108. DIKSHITAR, V. R. R. "The Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka". Woolner Comm. Vol. pp. 68-74. 1940. Appendix gives the *Śhāhbāzgarhī* Text. pp. 75-76.
 1. Kāliṅga war was waged not to make any fresh conquest, a rebellion in the empire.
 2. The special reference to Brāhmaṇas in the Brahmanical *dharma*.

3. In the centuries preceding the Christian era, *śramaṇa* refers not to Buddhists but to the orthodox ascetics of the Brahmanical fold.
4. The *dharma* preached is a replica of Hindu law of Saṃātana Dharma.
5. *dharmavijaya* does not mean conquest by morality but only a righteous war as distinguished from *asura*- and *lobha-vijaya*.
109. DIKSHITAR, V. R. R. "An Intriguing Statement in Aśokan Inscriptions". K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar Commemoration Vol. pp. 25-30. Benares. 1940.
The statement in question occurs in the 1st Minor Rock edict. "Thus this inscription is yet another evidence to establish that Aśoka was not a Buddhist."
110. DIKSHITAR, V. R. R. "The Kośar :- Their Place in South Indian History (A Summary)". Proc. Trans. 6th AIOC. pp. 217-18. Patna. 1930.
Satiyaputra Kingdom was the Tulu or Tuluva land of which the present Manglore was possibly the centre.
111. DIKSHITAR, V. R. R. "Who were the Satiyaputras?" IC. 1.493-96. 1934-35.
Satiyaputra = Kośa-nāḍu (Kośar) of the Śilappadikaram = Ancient Tuluva (modern South Kanara).
112. DIKSHITAR, V. R. R. "The Satiyaputras, Śātakarṇis, Sātvatas and Nāsatyas". IC. 2.549-56. 1936.
The proposed identification of Satiyaputras with the latter is not accepted by the author.
113. EDMUNDS, Albert J. Buddhist Bibliography. JPTS 1902-03. 28-29 (Note of 1913). Inscriptions of Aśoka.
114. EDMUNDS, Albert J. "Identification of Aśoka's First Buddhist Selection". JRAS. 1913. 385-87.
"The Mahāvastu or Mahāvaggo, in its primitive form, was probably the Sermon in the Deer Park, with a little introductory matter, and may well have been the first document of Aśoka's edict of Bhābrā. This is called *Vinaya-samukkhāṇṣa* (Supreme Discipline)".
115. EGGERMONT, P. H. L. "The Date of Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII". AO. 18. 103-23. 1940.
Holding that Magas of Cyrene died between 253 and 250 B.C., Alikasundara must be identified with Alexander of Epirus who died before or in the year 255 B.C. The Rock Edict XIII was published before or in the year 255 B.C.
116. ELIOT, Sir Charles. Hinduism and Buddhism. Vol. I. London. 1921.
Aśoka pp. 254-275 (for inscriptions p. 265ff). For Bhābrū edict p. 290ff.
"This edict does not prove that Aśoka had before him in the form which we know the Dīgha and other works cited. But the most cautious logic must admit that there was a collection of the Buddha's sayings to which he could appeal and that if most of his references to this collection can be identified in our Piṭakas, then the major part of these Piṭakas is probably identical in substance (not necessarily verbally) with the collection of sayings known to Aśoka".
117. *EUKUCHI, Kanji. "Saṃgham upagata Kō (Study on the Phrase saṃgham upagata. In Japanese) Kaigai Bukkyō Jijō (Buddhism Abroad). IV. No. 4. pp. 11-16. Tōkyō. 1937.

The author is inclined to adopt the interpretation which equates the meaning of this phrase to bhikhugatika in the Mahavagga. See *ASIA* 1937, No. 264.

118. FAZY, M. Robert. "Sur une Éclipse du Temple d'Agokha(?)" *IF* Vol. 217, 135-36 1930. See below *Jayamal* No. 126.
119. FLEET, J. F. "Facsimiles of the Inscriptions of Kalyan". *IF* 1924-6 1924 Allahabad and Delhi Pillars.

Notes on the MRE especially from the view point of determining the significance of the No. 256 which, in the author's opinion, denotes the number of years elapsed since the death of Buddha. The first article of the Series (JRAS. 1909) also gives the Text and Translation of the Rūpnāth Edict.

JRAS 1910 : The author gives up his earlier opinion and accepts that of F. W. Thomas. The number 256 represents the number of days during which Aśoka was away as a recluse.

JRAS 1913 : Summary of his article in JRAS 1911 (see below No. 131). After reigning for 37 years Aśoka abdicated and passed into religious retirement on the hill of Suvarṇagiri.

130. FLEET, J. F. "Remarks on Hultzsch's Second Note on the Rupnath Edict". JRAS. 1910. 146-49. The meanings suggested by Hultzsch (see below No. 159) are not acceptable to the author.

131. FLEET, J. F. "The 256 Nights of Aśoka". JRAS 1911. 1091-1112. Criticism of Lévi's article 'vyuthena 256' (see below No. 212).

132. FLEET, J. F. "Archaeological Work in Hyderabad, Deccan". JRAS. 1916. 572-74. Review on H. Krishna Sastri's monograph on Maski Edict (see below No. 303).

133. FRANKE, R. Otto. "Zu Aśoka's Säulen-Edicten". VOJ 9.333-50. 1895. Various Linguistic Notes.

134. *FRANKE, R. O. "Zu Aśoka's Felsen-Edicten". Nachr. der Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen. 1895.

135. FRANKE, R. O. Pāli und Sanskrit. Strassburg. 1902. For Aśokan Bibliography see pp. 1-5.

136. GHATAGE, A. M. "Groups of Two Mutes in Middle Indo-Aryan". JUB. 14(N.S.). 52-54, 1945. Consideration of the dialectal treatment of the clusters *-tv-*, *-tm-*, and *dv-* in Aśokan inscriptions.

137.* GHOSH, A. "The Kosamī Inscription of Aśoka". JUB. 3. pts. 1|4. This reference is given in ABIA. Vol. 10. 1935. No. 276. As I have not been able to trace it up I think the reference is mistaken. I regret my inability to correct it.

138. GHOSH, Miss Bhramara. "Did Not Yavana Denote Persian even before the Second Century A.D.?" IC. 1.519-21. 1935. It gives the view of Dr. E. J. Thomas viz. that 'yavana' in Aśokan Inscriptions means 'the Persians' rather than 'the Greeks'. (See below No. 385).

139. GHOSH, M. "Religion of Aśoka". Proc. Trans. 2nd AIOC. pp. 553-58. Calcutta. 1922.

"Thus it appears that after the conquest of Kalinga in the ninth year of his reign and before his 14th year he was a staunch follower of Ājīvika party of the Niggantha Community and between his 14th and 30th year he was vacillating between his faith in the Ājīvika sect and the Buddhist religion. Further from the 21st year till his death he was a staunch adherent of the Buddhist faith".

140. GHOSAL, U. N. "On Some Points Relating to the Maurya Administrative System". IHQ. 6.423-35 ; 614-27. 1930.

249. MOOKERJI, R. K. "Parallelisms between Aśoka's Edicts and Kautilya's Arthaśāstra". Proc. Trans. 5th AIOC. pp. 329-47. Lahore. 1928.
The resemblance extends both to words and ideas, to technical terms as well as institutions peculiar to Mauryan Polity.
250. MOOKERJI, R. K. "The Authenticity of Aśokan Legends". JUPHS 4.15-25. 1930.
"It will appear on a close and comparative study of both these sources, the legends and the inscriptions of Aśoka, that both must be used, like a pair of scissors, for the construction of a complete Aśokan History" (p. 15). The legends discussed are those contained in the northern text of Divyāvadāna and the southern text of Mahāvārṇsa.
251. MOOKERJI, R. K. "Aśokan Chronology". Proc. Trans. 6th AIOC. pp. 17-24. Patna. 1930.
"A close and comparative study of the Aśokan legends and Inscriptions will yield a fairly complete set of dates for the important events in the life and reign of Aśoka".
252. MOOKERJI, R. K. "An Aśokan Inscription Reconsidered". IC. 1.65-69. 1934. Passages from Minor Rock Edict.
253. MOOKERJI, R. K. "A Proposed Interpretation of an Aśokan Inscription". Dr. K. B. Pathak Comm. Vol. pp. 275-79. 1934.
silāvigaḍa- > *śilā-vigraha-* = image of stone representing Buddha's Nativity. *bhī*, a separate word, allied to the Hindi word *bhī* = also.
254. MUIR, J. "Prof. H. Kern's Dissertation on the Era of Buddha and the Aśoka Inscriptions". IA. 3.77-81. 1874.
A review of H. Kern's *Over de Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten* (see above No. 194).
255. MUKHERJI, P. C. A Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal. Calcutta. 1901. Ch. IV. Rummin-Dei. Description of the pillar (p. 34). Trans. of the Inscription (p. 35).
256. MÜLLER, Max. Dhammapada (Part I). SBE. 10.1881. (Sec. edn.) 1898. Introduction p. 41 (1st edn.) p. 49 (2nd edn.).
The author upholds Bühler's view regarding the authorship of the Minor Rock Edicts and his meaning of 256 as the number of years elapsed after Buddha's Nirvāṇa.
257. MULVANY, C. M. "Aśoka Pillar-Edict V—Simale Saṃḍake". IA. 37.21. 1908.
simale = Hindi "surā, a small beetle".
saṃḍake = "sāṇḍā, an animal like a lizard".
258. NARAIN Rao, C. "New Aśokan Edicts Discovered at Yerragudi". Proc. Trans. 6th AIOC. Patna. 1930. (The paper is not published).
259. NARAYAN Rao, C. "A Note on 'Suvaiṇṇagiri'" NIA. 1.596-97. 1938-39. Suvaiṇṇagiri of Mysore edicts is the Dzonnagiri, the site of the newly discovered Yerragudi edicts.
260. NEUMANN, K. E. "Das Gleichniss von Rūpnāth". VOJ 10.101-02. 1896. An explanatory note.
261. NEUMANN, K. E. "Piyadasi's Edikte und das Suttapiṭṭakam". VOJ. 11. 156-60. 1897. Some parallelisms are pointed out.

262. NEUMANN, K. E. "Zur Weihinschrift von Paderia". ZDMG, 68, 221-22, 1914.
Notes on *ubalike* and *aphabhāgiye*.
263. NORRIS, E. "On the Kaput-di-Giri Rock-Inscription". JRAS, 8, 303-14, 1946
General information and an attempt to decipher some parts of the inscription.
Note by the Director, pp. 308-14. Some linguistic notes.
264. OLDENBERG, H. "Die Datirung der neuen angeblichen Asoka Inschriften".
ZDMG. 35, 473-76, 1881.
Discussion on Minor Rock Edicts and the meaning of 256 as the number of
the Buddhas who had departed into Nirvāṇa.
265. OLDENBERG, H. "Buddhistisch Studien". ZDMG, 52, 613-94, 1898.
Discussion on Bairāt-Bhābrā Edict, pp. 632-40. Criticism on Minyard's
view (cf. No. 236 above).
266. OLDENBERG, H. The Vinayapitaka. Vol. I. The Mahāvagga. Oxford, 1929
p. xl, note 1 : Some identifications of the passages in the Mahāvagga
are suggested.
267. OLDHAM, C. E. A. W. "Recent Discoveries of Edicts of Aśoka". JA 61, 384-90
1932. Information about the Kopbal inscription in the Hazrat's Danti
nions
268. PAI, M. Govind. "Sāliyaputta of Aśoka' Edict II". In 'C. K. Jayasuriya
Comm. Vol. pp. 33-47, 1936.
"If however his 'Aśoka' Aparānta stopped with *śāla*, then *śāliyaputta*,
though thus identical with *śālika*, would seem to have been used in the
larger sense of comprising both *Hedaya* and *śālika* — as in the
Sāliyaputta, which is only equalled with *śālika*, and not the *śālika*"

275. PRINSEP, J. "Note on Inscription No. 1 of the Allahabad Column". JASB. 3. 114-17. 1834.
276. PRINSEP, J. "Note on the Mathiah Lāth Inscription". JASB. 3. 483-87. 1834.
277. PRINSEP, J. "Interpretation of the Most Ancient of the Inscriptions on the Pillar Called the Lāt of Feroz Shāh, near Delhi, and of the Allahabad, Radhia and Mattiah Pillar, or Lāt, Inscriptions which agree therewith". Transcripts, Trans., and Notes.
278. PRINSEP, J. "Facsimiles of Ancient Inscriptions". JASB. 6.663ff. 1837. For the inscriptions of Daśaratha in the Barabar Caves. See pp. 676-78.
279. PRINSEP, J. "Further Elucidation of the Lāt or Silāstambha Inscriptions from various sources". JASB. 6.790-97. 1837.
280. PRINSEP, J. "Note on the Facsimiles of the various inscriptions on the ancient column at Allahabad, retaken by Captain Edward Smith, Engineers". JASB. 6.963-69. 1937.
281. PRINSEP, J. "Discovery of Name of Antiochus the Great, in Two of the Edicts of Aśoka, king of India". JASB. 7.156-67. 1838. Refers to the 2nd Major RE.
282. PRINSEP, J. "On the Edicts of Piyadasi, or Aśoka, the Buddhist Monarch of India, Preserved on the Girnar Rock in the Gujarat Peninsula, and on the Dhaulī Rock in Cuttack; with the Discovery of Ptolemy's Name therein". JASB. 7.219-82. 1838. Transcripts, Trans., and Remarks.
283. PRINSEP, J. "Examination of the Separate Edicts of the Aswastama Inscription at Dhaulī in Cuttak". JASB. 7.434-56. 1838. Transcripts, Trans., and Observations.
284. PRZYLUŚKI, J. "Hippokoura et Satakarni". JRAS. 1929. 273-79. Also cf. JAHRS. 4.49f. Sātiyaputa = Satakarni.
285. *PRZYLUŚKI, J. "Le Symbolisme du Pilier de Sarnath". Études d'Orientalisme Linossier. pp. 481-98. 1932. See ABIA 1932. No. 252.
286. PRZYLUŚKI, J. "Satvant, Sātvata and Nāsatyā". IHQ. 9.88-91. 1933. Satiyaputras identified with Satvants, Sātvatas and Nāsatyas. Sātiyaputra = Satakarni means 'son of the Mythic horse'.
287. RAPSON, E. J. Ancient India. Cambridge. 1914. Ch. VII. Maurya Empire (For Aśoka and his edicts see p. 104ff.).
288. RAY, Nihar-Ranjan. "Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma". Journ. Great Ind. Soc. 6.99-123. 1939.
The Aśoka Mission of Sona and Uttara : Legend and History, c. 250 B.C. pp. 114-21.
Aśoka's mission to Burma seems to be historical and not fabricated.
289. *RICE, L. Edicts of Aśoka in Mysore. Bangalore. 1892.
290. RICE, L. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. 11. Bangalore. 1903. p. 1. Notice of Mysore Edicts; p. 162, No. 14, p. 164. No. 21, and p. 167. No. 34 Transcripts of Edicts at Śiddhāpūr, Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara; p. 93 No. 21 Trans.
291. RICE, L. Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions. London. 1909. For the contents of the Mysore group see pp. 10-14. The author believes that Aśoka was converted to Buddhism from Jinism. pp. 12-13.

292. RICE, L. "The New Asoka Edict at Maski". JRAS. 1916. 838-39. General information and discussion of its contents.
293. SAHANI, Daya Ram. "The Yerragudi Edicts of Asoka". Ann. Rep. ASI. 1928-29 pp. 161-67.

A preliminary account of the discovery and notice of its contents. It also gives the text of Minor RE.

294. SAHNI, M. D. "The Etymologies of Kubha, Laggh, Geveya, etc. in the Asokan Inscriptions". Proc. Trans. 2nd AIOC. p. xcvi, No. 8. Calcutta 1923. [The paper is not published.]
295. SATHI, B. A. "The Identification of Satiyaputa". IC. 1.667-73. 1935. Criticism on Dikshitar's article (see Nos. 110-111 above). Tuluva was never called Satiyaputa in the early ages of its history. The problem is still unsolved.
296. SATHI, E. E. History of Buddhism. A Memoir Read before the Society on May 21 1844. JAOS. 79-135. 1849.
297. SAMADHAR, J. N. "The Edicts of Asoka". The Visva-Bharati Quarterly. 2.239-250. Calcutta. 1924-25.

Study of these inscriptions from the social, political and economic points of view. Incidental discussion on such words as *samāja*, *rajuka*, *pradesika*, *amusañyāna*, *ganamāyana*, *parisad*, and *atthabhāga*.

298. SAMADHAR, J. N. The Glories of Magadha. 2nd edn. Patna. 1927.

Review :

R. C. Temple, IA. 35.79.

V. R. R. Dikshitar, JIH. 7.279-81.

L. D. Barnett, JRAS. 1926. 154f.

The third and the fourth Lectures deal with Asoka's Edicts. pp. 71-117.

(i) Social aspects of the Edicts, pp. 74-85 (*Samāja* pp. 82-5).

(ii) Political aspects of the Edicts, pp. 85-107. Discussion on such terms as *yukta*, *rājuka*, *pradesika*, *amusañyāna*, *parisā*, *ganana*, *pasivedaka*, *mahāmātra* and on Duties of a king.

(iii) Economic aspects of the edicts, pp. 107-113. Discussion on *vaca*, *ubhika*, *atthabhāga*.

299. SANKALIA, H. D. "Pre-Vedic Times to Vijayanagara : A Survey of 25 years' work in ancient Indian History and Archaeology." Progress of Indic Studies (1917-1942), pp. 195-238. Poona, 1942. For Maurya History cf. pp. 203-04.

300. SANKARA, K. G. "Studies on Scholarship : III. Satiyaputra of Asoka's Rock-Edict, No. 2" QJMS 11.283. 1921. Criticism of earlier views expressed by Jayaswal, Smith, D. R. Bhandarkar, S. K. Aiyangar and others.

301. SANKARA, K. G. "Some Problems of Indian Chronology". ABORI. 12.301-61. 1931. Evidence of Asokan inscriptions is taken into account. pp. 337-38.

- 302.* SARMA, Rāmavātāra. Priyadarśi-prasastayah or Piyadasi-Inscriptions. Patna. 1917. A collection of Asokan inscriptions giving Sk. and Eng. trans.

Review : K. P. J. JBORS. 3.572. Discusses the word *dipi* and *nipi*.

303. SASTRI, H. Krishna. The New Asokan Edict of Maski. Hy. Ser. No. 1. Calcutta. 1915.

314. SASTRI, Haraprasad. Causes of the Dismemberment of the Maurya Empire. JASB. 6 (N. S.) 259-262. Calcutta 1910.
 Asoka's opposition through his edicts to Brahmanical practices and privileges was responsible for the downfall of the empire.
315. SASTRI, Haraprasad. "Two Sacred Cities in the Province of Bihar and Orisa." JBORS 623-39. Patna 1930.
 II. Tosali Identified with Dharu. (Dharu—Dohali—Tohali—Tosali).
316. SASTRI, Hirānanda. The Asokan Rock at Girnar. Gaek. Arch. Ser. II. pp. 1-58. Baroda 1936.
 Introductory remarks: Text and Trans. of 14 Rock-Edicts.
 Review: E. J. Thomas JRAS. 1937. p. 701f.
 Adis Banerji, Modern Review. 61568.
317. SASTRI, K. A. Nilakanth. "Asoka Notes". The Journ. of the Ganganath Jha Research Inst. 193-117. 1942.
 Notes on: I. *vinika*; II. Was Asoka a Monk and a Monarch at the same time? (The answer to the question is in the negative. Asoka might have become a Monk after he renounced the throne). IV. Asoka and Ceylon. Tambaparni = Ceylon).
318. SASTRI, K. A. Nilakanth. "Ubalika Umbali, Ubbali". IHQ. 20,285-287. 1944.
ubālīka < *ud-bālī*. The Dravidian forms *urbālī*, *umbala*, *uybālī* etc. are connected with *ubālīka*.
319. SASTRI, N. Agraswami. "Asoka's Edicts and Sagga". Journ. Sri Venkateswara Or. Inst. 387-95. 1942.
 "Thus the idea of heavenly bliss expressed in the Edicts of Asoka is in no way incompatible with his personal faith, viz. Buddhism".
320. SASTRI, Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. "The Words *vaca* and *vinika* in the Asoka Edict". IL 4953-56. 1920. *vaca* = 'a road'; *vinika* = 'a vehicle'.
- 321.* Sen, B. C. "Ancient Indian Inscriptions as a Source of History". COJ. 3,97-104. to be continued.
322. SEN, Jyotirmay. "Asoka's Mission to Ceylon and some Connected Problems". IHQ. 4,667-78. 1928.
 Mr. Sen concludes that "the date of Rock Edict XIII and consequently of the foreign missions of Asoka falls between the 15th and the 13th year of his reign".
323. SEN, Prabodh Chandra. "The Religious Policy of Asoka". Visvabharati Quarterly. 9. pt. 3.
 "Asoka's personal religion might have been Buddhist, but so far as State policy was concerned his was an ethical religion acceptable to all creeds."
324. SEN, Sukumar. "The Use of Instrumental in Middle Indo-Aryan." Proc. Trans. 5th AIOC. Vol. 1. Summaries of Papers. Lahore 1928.
 Some syntactical peculiarities are given. Illustrations are drawn from Asokan inscriptions also.
325. SEN, Sukumar. "The use of the Genitive in Middle Indo-Aryan". Indian Linguistics 9,11-29. 1944-45.
 Some syntactical peculiarities are given. Illustrations are drawn from Asokan inscriptions as well.

316. SEN, Surendra Nath. "Survival of Some Asokan Forms in Seventeenth Century Bengali". A Volume of Studies in Indology Presented to Prof. P. V. Kane. pp. 417-19. Poona. 1941.
Survival of the form 'piuva' which occurs in the Girnar, Shāhabāzgarhī and Mānsehra versions.
317. SENART, E. "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi". JA. Sér. 7. tom. 15. 287-347 ; 479-509. 1880. Introduction (pp. 287-326); Ch. 1. Les Quatorze édits et les édits détachés de Dhauli. (pp. 327-47 ; 479-509). Text, Trans. and Notes of Re 1-3.
318. SENART, E. "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi". JA. Sér. 7. tom. 16. 215-67, 289-410. 1880. Text, Trans. and Notes on RE. 4-12.
319. SENART, E. "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi" JA. Sér. 7. tom. 17. 97-158. 1881. Text, Trans. and Notes on RE 13-14.
320. SENART, E. "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi". JA. Sér. 7. tom. 19. 395-460. 1882. Deuxième Partie : Les Édits sur Colonnes. Text, Trans. and Notes on the PE. 1-5.
321. SENART, E. "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi". JA. Sér. 7. tom. 20. 101ff. 1882. Text, Trans. and Notes on PE VI-VIII. Queen's edict and the Kauśāmbī edict.
322. SENART, E. "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi". JA. Sér. 8. tom. 1. 171-230. 1883. Ch. 3. Les Édits détachés sur Roc. Text, Trans. and Notes.
323. SENART, E. "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi". JA. Sér. 8. tom. 3. 446-498. 1884.
II. Édits de Sahasrām, de Rūpnāth et de Bairāt. pp. 446-77.
III. Édit de Bhābra. pp. 478-89.
IV. Inscriptions des Grottes de Barābar. pp. 489-493.
Appendice : Ambalaṭṭhikārahulovāda sutta. pp. 493-98.
324. SENART, E. "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi". JA. Sér. 8. tom. 5. 269-320 ; 357-414. 1885. Ch. 4. L'Auteur et la Langue des Inscriptions.
325. SENART, E. "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi". JA. Sér. 8. tom. 7. 477-554. 1886. Ch. 4. Part 2. La Langue des Inscriptions.
1. La Grammaire des Inscriptions. pp. 478-554.
326. SENART, E. "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi". JA. Sér. 8. tom. 8. 68-112 ; 298-368 ; 386-478. 1886.
2. Les caractères Généraux de la Langue ; Sa place Historique. pp. 68-112.
Ch. 5. La Langue des Édits et L'histoire Linguistique de l'Inde pp. 298-368 ; 386-406.
Appendice. pp. 406-415 ; Index pp. 416-478.
327. SENART, E. "The Inscriptions of Piyadasi". IA. 9. 282-87. 1880. Text and Trans. of the first three edicts at Girnar, with introductory notes.
An outline Translation of the author's work published in JA. is contained in IA. 9 and 10.
328. SENART, E. "The Inscriptions of Piyadasi". IA. 10. 83-85. 1881. Text and Trans. of the fourth and the fifth edicts at Girnar.

329. SENART, E. "The Inscriptions of Piyadasi". IA. 10.180-82. 1881. Text and Trans. of the 6th to 9th edicts at Girnar.
330. SENART, E. "The Inscriptions of Piyadasi". IA. 10.209-11. 1881. Text and Trans. of the 10th to 12th edicts at Girnar.
331. SENART, E. "Inscriptions of Piyadasi". IA. 10.269-73. 1881. Text and Trans. of the 13th and 14th edicts at Girnar.
332. SENART, E. "The Column Inscriptions of Piyadasi" IA. 12.71-74. 1883. 1-5 edicts from the pillar of Feroz Shah (Delhi-Topra). Text and Trans.
333. SENART, E. "The Column Inscriptions of Piyadasi". IA. 12.275-78. 1883. The 6th to 8th Major Pillar Edicts. The Queen's Edict at Allahabad. Edict at Kauśāmbī. Text and Trans.
334. SENART, E. Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi. Paris. tome. i. 1881 ; tome. ii. 1886. (See above Nos. 317-326).
335. SENART, E. "Un Nouveau Fac-similé de l'Inscription de Bhabra, avec une Photogravure de l'Estampage". JA. Sér. 8. tom. 9.498-504. 1887. Suggestions for a revised reading.
336. SENART, E. "A New Edict of Aśoka." JBBRAS. 17.11-17. 1888. Description of Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra Versions.
337. SENART, E. "Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne". JA. Sér. 8. tom. 11.504-33. 1888. I. A Shahbaz Garhi, à Mansera et à Girnar. General information. 1. Le XII^e Édits à Shahbaz Garhi et à Mansera. Text and Notes. 2. Les XI Premiers Édits à Shahbaz Garhi. Text and Notes.
338. SENART, E. "Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne". JA. Sér. 8. tom. 12.311-30. 1888. 3. Collation des Édits de Girnar. pp. 311-19. Palaeographic and explanatory notes. 4. Les Édits I-VIII à Mansera. pp. 319-29. Transcript and notes. Les Édits IX-XI à Mansera. pp. 329-30. Transcript and Notes.
339. SENART, E. "Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne". JA. Sér. 8. tom. 19.472-98. 1892. IV. Trois Nouvelles Inscriptions d'Aśoka-Piyadasi " Notes on the readings and explanation of Mysore edicts. Text and trans. of the Brahmagiri version.
340. SENART, E. "A New Fragment of the Thirteenth Edict of Piyadasi at Girnar". JRAS. 1900. 335-42. Translation and Notes.
341. SETH, H. C. "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Maurya Empire". IHQ. 13.400-17. 1937.
342. SETH, H. C. "Chronology of Aśokan Inscriptions". JIH. 17.279-92. 1938. An attempt to formulate the chronological order of the inscriptions.
343. SETH, H. C. "Side Lights on Aśoka the Great". ABORI. 20. 177-87. 1938-39. Detailed arguments to substantiate his view that, "... it was only during the last ten years—and more towards the end—of his reign that he developed into an ardent Buddhist". (p. 180).
344. SETH, H. C. "Some Obscure Passages in Aśokan Inscriptions". Nagpur University Jour. December 1943. pp. 16-20.
 (1) *paṛisā pi yute* etc. Major RE III.
 (2) *e cu iyañ atanā paṇḍapagamane* etc. PE VI.
 (3) *imañ cu dhañmānupaṭipati anupaṭipajamtu ti etadathā* PE VII.

345. SHAH, T. L. "Emperor Aśoka Dislodged". Proc. Trans. 5th AIOC. Lahore. 1928. Vol. 1. Summaries of Papers. p. 217. No. 164. The paper is not published. On p. 163 it is stated—"The most important point arising out of discussion was whether Sandracottos could at all be identified with Aśoka there being no phonetic resemblance between the two names".
346. SHAH, T. L. Ancient India. Vol. II. Baroda. 1939. Part IV deals with Aśoka. pp. 302-05 give proofs to show that Priyadarśin followed Jainism.
347. SHAH, T. L. Samrāt Priyadarśi, or the Emperor mistakenly supposed to be Aśoka, or the Jaina Emperor Samprati. Baroda. 1942 (In Gujarati). Part I. Chronology; Part II. Rock and Pillar inscriptions, all attributed to Samprati; Part III. Other works of Samprati; Part IV. Life of Samprati. Mr. Shah essays to prove that the author of the numerous inscriptions was Samprati, grandson of Aśoka, and not Aśoka himself.
348. SIDERSKY, D. "Une éclipse de Soleil au Temps d'Açoka". JA. tom. 220.295-297. 1932.
The total eclipse of the sun to which Hiuan-Tsang refers must have been the one which occurred on the 15th June 242 B.C., seven years after Aśoka's pilgrimage.
349. SINGH Deo, B. "Tosali and Tosala". QAHS. 3.41-43. 1928.
".... It is possible to identify Tosali with modern Khijjinga in Mayurbhanj".
350. SIRCAR, D. C. "An Inscription of Aśoka Discovered at Yerragudi". IHQ. 7.737-40 (817-20). 1931. Transcript and Translation.
351. SIRCAR, D. C. "Yavana and Parasika". JIH. 14.34-38. 1935.
The author disagrees with Dr. E. J. Thomas' hypothesis that the term 'yavana' meant the Persian military power (as consisting chiefly of Greek mercenaries) (see below No. 385). Persians became acquainted with Greeks through the Ionian Colonists whom they called *yawia* (= Ionian). The Persian word *yauna* was borrowed by Indians cf. Mbh. XII. 207-43. Yavana is only a Sanskritised form of *yawia* of which the real Pkt. form is *yona*. Thus *yavana* in early literature means Greeks and *Pārasika* means Persians.
352. SIRCAR, D. C. "On Some Words in the Inscriptions of Aśoka". IC. 7.487-89. 1941.
The words that are discussed are : (1) *bhāge aṃñe* in R.E. VIII, (2) *ithijha-kha-mahāmāla* in R. E. XII; (3) *kaṭābhikāra* in R.E. V, (4) *duāhale* in separate R.E. I.
353. SIRCAR, D. C. "Pārimda in the Inscriptions of Aśoka". IC. 8. 399-400. 1942.
The author feels that the philological difficulties in identifying Pārimda or *Pālimda with Pulindas are not unsurmountable.
354. SIRCAR, S. C. "A Note on the Last Year of Aśoka". IC. 11.85-86. 1944.
The author does not believe that Aśoka's pacifist policy was responsible for the downfall of the Mauryan Empire.

355. SMITH, V. A. "The Birth Place of Gautama Buddha". JRAS. 1897. 615-21.
Information about the Nigali Sagar Pillar. Transcript and purport of the pillar inscription pp. 616-19.
356. SMITH, V. A. "A Prefatory Note to Mukherji's "A Report on a tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal". Calcutta. 1901 (see above No. 255).
Mr. Smith believes in the unity of authorship of inscriptions, but Mukherji concludes in the manifoldness of authorship. (p. 2). The importance of the pillar inscription in Tarai and identity of Rummindei with Lumbini garden. (pp. 2-7).
357. SMITH, V. A. "The Authorship of the Piyadasi Inscriptions". JRAS. 1901. 481-99.
"To sum up, all the inscriptions prove to have been issued by, and under the personal direction of, a single Buddhist emperor of India"
358. SMITH, V. A. "On a Passage in the Bhabra Edict". JRAS. 1901. 574. The author points out that Hardy's (see above No. 151) explanations are based on wrong readings.
359. SMITH, V. A. "The Translation of devānampiyā". JRAS. 1901. 577-78.
devānampiyā = *rājāno*.
360. SMITH, V. A. "The Identity of Piyadasi (Priyadarśin) with Aśoka Maurya, and some connected Problems". JRAS. 1901. 827-58.
Part I. The Identity of Piyadasi with Aśoka Maurya. pp. 827-39.
Part II. Kālāśoka. pp. 839-42. Kālāśoka of the Ceylonese chronicles is a fiction.
Part III. Buddhist Councils. pp. 842-58.
361. SMITH, V. A. "Kusinārā, or Kuśinagara, and other Buddhist Holy Places". JRAS, 1902. 139-63. For the names of Lauriyā-Nandagarh see p. 153.
362. SMITH, V. A. "A Chinese Aśoka". IA. 32.236. 1903.
"The Chinese case (of Hsiao Yen—6th cent. A.D.—of the Liang dynasty of China, who was a devout Buddhist) should finally remove the doubts of the most sceptical concerning the propriety of the literal interpretation of Aśoka's distinct and categorical statement that he joined the order".
363. SMITH, V. A. "The Meaning of Piyadasi". IA. 32.265-67. 1903. *Piyadasi* = His Gracious Majesty, or His Grace.
364. SMITH, V. A. "The Rummindei Inscription, Hitherto Known as the Padariya Inscription". IA. 34. 1-4. 1905.
(1) Criticism on the nomenclature; (2) *vigaḍabhi* = flawless; (3) *aṭha-ṭhāgiya* = with eight shares (of land).
365. SMITH, V. A. "Aśoka's Alleged Mission to Pegu". IA. 34.180-86. 1905. The silence of the edicts concerning the mission disproves its reality.
366. SMITH, V. A. "Unpublished Aśoka Inscription at Girnar". IA. 38.80. 1909.
An inquiry about a possible Aśoka record near Bhimkund mentioned by C. M. in his article "Saurashtra and the Hill of South". Calcutta Review. 1878.
367. SMITH, V. A. "Aśoka Notes". IA. 32.364-66. 1903.
I. Mahendra, brother of Aśoka.

- II. The Dharma Mahāmātras, or Censors of the Law of Piety : Two modern Indian parallels to Aśoka's Dharma Mahāmātras.
 - III. Aśoka's Father-Confessor. His Father-Confessor was Upagupta, the son of Gupta.
368. SMITH, V. A. "Aśoka Notes". IA. 34.200-03 ; 245-51. 1905.
- IV. Consular Officers in India and Greece. pp. 200-01.
 - V. Persian Influence on Mauryan India. pp. 201-03.
 - VI. The meaning of *Sāmanita* in Rock Edict II. p. 245.
 - VII. The meaning of *cikicha* in the same edict, and revised trans. of the edict. pp. 246-48.
 - VIII. The Keralaputra and Satiyaputra Kingdoms. pp. 348-51. Satiyaputra identified with Tulu country.
369. SMITH, V. A. "Aśoka Notes". IA. 37.19-24. 1908.
- IX. The Third Rock Edict, discussion on the last line. It contains also a Note by F. W. Thomas.
370. SMITH, V. A. "Aśoka Notes". IA. 38.151-59. 1909.
- X. Aśoka in Fa-hien's Travels—with notice of some discoveries near Patna.
371. SMITH, V. A. "Aśoka Notes". IA. 39. 64. 1910.
- XI. The etymology of *Sānāpam* in Rock Edict II.
372. SMITH, V. A. "Aśoka Notes". IA. 47.48-49. 1918.
- XII. Identification of Tāmraparāni. The author refers to the Tāmraparāni (Tinnevely) river in the Tinnevely District and not to Ceylon.
373. SMITH, V. A. The Edicts of Aśoka. London 1909. Trans. pp. 3-41 ; Commentary pp. 43-76.
374. SMITH, V. A. On the Identity of Satiyaputra observes that it is represented by the Satyamangalam region in the Coimbatore District JRAS. 1919. 584 footnote 1 to S. K. Aiyangar's paper (see above No. 3) and in his Review of the Beginnings of South Indian History. JRAS. 1919. 596-99.
375. SMITH, V. A. Aśoka : The Buddhist Emperor of India. Rulers of India Series. (1st edn. 1901 ; 2nd edn. 1909 ; 3rd edn. 1920).
- Ch. I. The History of Aśoka (pp. 11-71) " Aśoka was both monk and monarch at the same time " (p. 35).
 - Ch. III. The Monuments (pp. 107-148). General information.
 - Ch. IV. The Rock Edicts (pp. 149-204). Translation of all Edicts (page references to the 2nd edn.).
376. SMITH, V. A. The Oxford History of India. Oxford. 1923. Book II, Ch. 2. Aśoka Maurya and his institutions ; diffusion of Buddhism. pp. 93-110. For Rummindei inscription and Daśaratha's inscription see p. 102 and p. 117 respectively.
377. SMITH, V. A. Early History of India. Oxford. 1924.
- Ch. VI. Aśoka Maurya. p. 162ff. Appendix H. The Inscriptions of Aśoka : Bibliographical Note. pp. 180-83.
 - Ch. VII. Aśoka Maurya (contd.) For Aśoka's Dharma. etc. cf. pp. 184ff.
378. SPEYER, J. S. "L VOJ. 11.22-2 807
379. STEIN, Otto. "Y ly Indian

"The conclusion seems to be that the term Yona in Aśoka's time has been restricted to the Western peoples outside India To be strict, therefore, one cannot say that Aśoka means by Yona Greeks alone, though essentially he might have thought the subject of these five kings (viz. Antiochos, Ptolemaios, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander) to be Greeks".

380. SUBRAMANIAN, T. N. "Satyaputra of Aśoka's Edict No. 2". JRAS. 1922. 84-86.

"I identify the Satyaputra with the Kośars of Kongunāḍu".

381. SUBRAMANIAN, T. N. "Petenikas of Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII". JRAS. 1923. 88-93.

Petenika (= Sk. Paithānaka) identified with the Śātavāhanas of Western India.

382. SVARUP, Bishun. "The Antiquity of Writing in India". JBORS. 8.46-64; 99-119. 1922; 9.347-52. 1923. Especially Introduction; VII Formation of Brāhmī alphabet.

383. THOMA, P. J. "The Identification of Satyaputra". JRAS. 1923. pp. 411-14. Satyaputra = ruler of Satya Kingdom (probably Kolathiri) which lay towards the north of Chēraman's Kingdom (Kerala proper).

384. THOMAS, Edward. "The Early Faith of Aśoka". JRAS 9 (NS). 155-234. 1877.

Aśoka was originally a Jain and was afterwards attracted towards the Buddhist ideals and doctrines.

385. THOMAS, E. J. "The Question of Zoroastrian Influence on Early Buddhism". Dr. Modi Memorial Vol. pp. 279-89. 1930.

Regarding the Aśokan yona the author observes, "What conception of the Yonas, Aśoka had in his mind, is naturally not easy to prove, but it is necessary to point out that it is an entirely gratuitous assumption to hold that for Aśoka Yona meant Greek as distinct from Persian."

386. THOMAS, E. J. "Buddhaghosa and the Date of Aśoka". IC. 1.95-96. 1935. The number of years elapsed between Buddha's death and Aśoka's Abhisheka given in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya is not 228 but 218.

387. THOMAS, F. W. "Sanskrit as a Spoken Language". JRAS. 1904. 460-65. ".... the Edicts of Aśoka represent a real speech of the time, a common parlance of the people"

ucāvaca (9th RE) may have reference to the following passage : *atha khalū ccāvacā janapadadharmā grāmadharmās ca* etc. Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra i. 7. 1-2.

386. THOMAS, F. W. "Aśoka Notes". IA. 37.19-24. 1928. No. 1X. The Third Rock Edict. (See above Smith No. 369).

389. THOMAS, F. W. "Ubalika and Yukta". JRAS. 1909. 466-67.

The derivation of *ubalika* < *ud* + *bali* supported by the Arthaśāstra form *ucchulka*; the meaning of the word *yuta* as 'officer' supported by the Arthaśāstra use.

390. THOMAS, F. W. "Les vivāsāh d'Āśoka". JA. Sér. 10. tom. 15. 507-22. 1910.
256 is the number of nights i.e. days and nights during which Āśoka was away from his home. The author also surveys all earlier efforts to determine the meaning of *vi/ras* and the No. 256.
 391. THOMAS, F. W. "Rupnath Edict of Āśoka". JRAS. 1912. 477-81. Notes on *samānā, palakama, pakama, amisā, sāvana*.
 392. THOMAS, F. W. "Notes on the Edicts of Āśoka". JRAS. 1914. 383-95; 751-52. (1) *prādeśika* pp. 383-6; (2) *mahāmātra* pp. 386-7; (3) *yukta* (*yula*) pp. 387-91; (4) *aḥabhāgiya* pp. 391-92; (5) *samāja* pp. 392-94; (6) *agni-skandha* pp. 294-05; additions to his notes on *aḥabhāgiya* and *samāja* pp. 751-52.
 393. THOMAS, F. W. "Notes on the Edicts of Āśoka". JRAS. 1915. 97-112. (7) *mukha-danamukha* pp. 97-99; (8) *paligodha-palibodha* pp. 99-106; (9) *asvasa-risrasika* pp. 106-8; (10) *samsarana* pp. 109-12; (11) *prādeśika* again p. 112.
 394. THOMAS, F. W. "Notes on the Edicts of Āśoka". JRAS. 1916. 113-23. (12) *tirasa* pp. 113-19; (13) Some minor points; (i) *tam atham*, (ii) *tada-tam*, (iii) *nijhati* pp. 120-23.
 395. THOMAS, F. W. "Aśoka, the Imperial Patron of Buddhism". CHI. Ed. by E. J. Rapson. Vol. I. Ch. XX. pp. 495-513. 1922.
This chapter gives the general appreciation of Āśoka's rule, his family history, his ordinances and institutions, and his personality as revealed in his edicts. pp. 504-05 Āśoka was a Buddhist monk. pp. 509-10 Trans. of R.E. IV and P.E. VII which are styled as 'The Testament of Aśoka'.
 396. THOMAS, F. W. "Sanskrit Masculine Plurals in *-ānī*". JRAS. 1924. 449-50.
 397. THOMAS, F. W. "Bhāsa and Accusatives Plural Masculine in *-ānī*". JRAS. 1925. 104-07.
 398. TROYER, A. "Remarks upon the Sacred Inscription of the Allahabad Pillar". JASB. 3. 118-23. 1834.
 399. TURNER, R. L. "The Future Stem in Āśoka". BSOS. 6. 529-37. 1930-32.
In the inscriptions of Āśoka these two tendencies (viz. the extension of the *-īśyā-* suffix and its addition to a present stem) are seen further developed.
 400. TURNER, R. L. "Āśokan vāsa- 'year'". BLSI. 2. 161-64. 1932.
The Āśokan inscriptions have three divergent forms for 'year' and these substantiate the view that there was a tendency to differentiate *vārṣa-* (neut.) 'year', *varṣa-* (masc.) and *varṣā-* (fem.) 'rain'.
 401. TURNER, R. L. The Gavimath and Pālkūṇḍu Inscriptions of Āśoka. Hyderabad Arch. Ser. No. 10. Calcutta. 1932.
- Review :
- W. Printz. ZDMG (NS.) 11 (87). 97.
A. Duncan. AR (NS.) 30. 386.
C. E. A. W. Oldham. IA. 61. 220-1. 1932.
E. J. Rapson. JRAS. 1933. 449f.
- Description of the Find Spot & Language; Text and Trans. Index of the words.

402. TURNOUR, G. "Further Notes on the Columns at Delhi, Allahabad, Betiah, etc." JASB. 6.1049-64. 1937.
403. VENIS, A. "Some Notes on the Maurya Inscription at Sarnath". JPASB. (NS.) 3.1-7. 1907.
No. 256 refers to the year of Aśoka's coronation reckoned from the year of Buddha's Illumination. Text and Trans. of the Sāmāth inscription together with notes on the Minor Pillar and Rock Edicts.
404. VENKAT RAO, G. "Aśoka's Dhamma (Dharma)". S. K. Aiyangar Comm. Vol. pp. 252-63. 1936.
Aśoka was a convert to Buddhism. . . . From the time of his conversion to the end of his rule, he remained an upāsaka, with progressive zeal in the cause of his new faith".
It contains notes on *upāsaka* (pp. 258-59), *saṃghe upayite* (pp. 259-60), *dhamma* (pp. 260-62).
405. VENKATASUBBIAH, A. "Aṭṭhabhāgiye". IA. 60.168-70 ; 204-07. 1931. *aṭṭhabhāgiye* = *aṣṭabhoga* (-*tējassuāmya*)-*bhāgi*.
406. VENKATESWARA, S. V. "Satiyaputra in the Second Rock Edict of Aśoka". JRAS. 1918. 541-42 ; also IA. 48.24. 1919. They were a people or country with Kāñchīpura as capital.
- 407.* VIDYALANKAR, Satyaketu. Māurya Sāmrajya-kā Itihāsa (In Hindi).
408. VOGEL, J. Ph. "Epigraphical Discoveries at Sarnath". EI. 8.166-71. 1905-6.
I. Inscriptions of the Aśoka Pillar : Text, Trans. and Remarks.
409. VYAS, Suryanarayana. "Samrāt 'Aśoka' athavā 'Samprati'". (In Hindi) NPP. 16.1-65. Vikram Samvat 1992 (A.D. 1935).
The author arrives at the astonishing conclusion that the edicts ascribed to Aśoka do not belong to him but to king "Samprati". They are again more related to Jainism than to Buddhism.
- 410.* WALLESER, Max. Das Edict von Bhabra. Zur Kritik und Geschichte. Leipzig. 1923.
Review : L. D. Barnett. JRAS. 1924. 485.
411. WALLESER, Max. "Zur Deutung des Edikts von Bhabra". ZII. 3.113-15. 1925.
412. WESTERGAARD, N. C. See above Jacob, L. G. and . . . No. 175.
413. WICKREMASINGHE, M. De. Z. "On the Etymology and Interpretation of Certain Words and Phrases in the Aśoka Edicts". BSOS. 6.545-48. 1930-2.
(1) *Parisā pi yute āṇapayisati gaṇanāyaṃ* . . . RE. III (Girnār).
(2) *Ta aja devānaṃpriyasa* . . . *divyāni rūpāni dasaṃyitpā janāṃ* RE. IV. (Girnār).
(3) *Save kāle bhujjamānasa me* . . . *paṭivedatha iti* RE. VI. (Girnār).
(i) *vacasi* = 'in the chapel (or temple)'.
(ii) *vinīta* = 'a path leading to the various parks'.
414. WILSON, H. H. "On the Rock Inscriptions of Kapur-di-Giri, Dhauli and Girnar". JRAS. 12.153-252. 1850.
The author was the first scholar to dispute connection between Buddhism and Aśoka's dhamma. Cf. the concluding observation on p. 234f.

415. WILSON, H. H. "Buddhist Inscription of king Priyadarśi". JRAS. 16.357-67. 1856. Text, Trans. and Observations on the Bariat-Bhabra Edict.
 "... Priyadarśi, whoever he may have been, was a follower of Buddha".
416. WINTERNITZ, M. A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, (Eng. Tr.) Calcutta. 1933. Appendix III. Bhābrū-Bairat Edict of Aśoka. pp. 606-609.
 "We shall therefore not be unduly bold in arguing from the Edict that, at the time when it was written, there was a canonical collection of Sutta and Vinaya texts in the Māgadhi language".
417. WOOLNER, A. C. Aśoka, Text and Glossary. Punjab Univ. Orient. Publ. 2 parts. Calcutta. 1924.
 Reviews :
 S. M. Edwardes. IA. 55.180.
 T. Michelson. JAOS. 46.264-65.
 J. Charpentier. JRAS. 1926. 135-37.
- Part I. Introduction : List of Inscriptions, Location of Rocks and Pillars. Contents and Titles of the Edicts, pp. ix-xviii ; Scripts pp. xviii-xx ; Dialects, pp. xx-xxii. Text (in Roman Script) pp. 1-52.
 Part II. A complete Index of Aśokan words pp. 53-151. Index of Sanskrit roots. pp. 153-6.
418. WOOLNER, A. C. "Quinquennial Circuits or Transfers of Aśoka's Officials". Journ. Punj. Univ. Hist. Soc. 1.108-12. 1932.
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SOME ADDITIONS

1. BARUA, B. M. Asoka And His Inscriptions. Calcutta. 1946.
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 Aśoka's ideas about *dhamma* and his contribution to the maintenance of religious harmony.
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 Aśoka's teachings, his Administration, and the significance of the dharmacakra symbol.

! NOTE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY

An attempt is made here to classify the above Bibliography according to the subject matter of the entries therein. The importance of arranging a Bibliography in an alphabetical order as above for ready reference need hardly be stressed. The subject-wise classification given below of the above articles by giving references to their numbers in this Bibliography will help the reader to pick out those articles and works which

interest him most. Incidentally this classification also indicates the various aspects from which these inscriptions could be studied.

I. Text, translation and Notes (some of the articles give only the text or only the translation).

- (a) Of all edicts together : 26, 28, 34, 92, 101, 142(a-g), 171, 194, 206, 248, 269, 302, 334, 347, 373, 375, 417.
- (b) Of some or all Major Rock Edicts : 21, 37, 44, 51, 54, 58, 59, 64-70, 76, 78, 172, 173, 175, 179, 195, 196, 263, 270, 282, 283, 306, 317, 318, 319, 322, 327-331, 337, 338, 340, 368(VII), 395.
- (c) Of some or all Major Pillar Edicts : 37; 50, 52, 57, 71, 72, 119, 195, 214, 277, 279, 280, 320, 321, 332, 333, 392.
- (d) Of Minor Rock Edicts : *Sahasrām*, *Rūpnāth*, *Bairat* : 48, 55, 129, 160, 323 ; *Mysore Group* : 56, 60, 289, 290, 291, 339 ; *Bhābrā* : 37, 201, 210, 323, 335, 415 ; *Maski* : 170, 303 (also 132) ; *Kopbāl* 401 ; *Yerrā-gudi* : 13, 14, 258, 293, 350.
- (e) Of Minor Pillar Edicts : *Sārnāth* : 47, 403, 408, 436 ; *Sāñci* : 47, 161 ; *Allahabad* : 47, 52, 163, 245, 321 ; *Rummindei* : 63, 84, 242, 255, 376 ; *Nigāli Sāgar* : 63, 355.
- (f) Of Cave Inscriptions : 53, 78, 174, 278, 323, 376.
- (g) Doubtfully attributed to Aśoka : 83, 155, 223, 237, 366.

II. Discussions on some passages in inscriptions : A passage occurring in a particular edict will have very probably been discussed where the whole edict is studied. The entries numbered below only treat of some specific passages selected for discussion.

- (a) Major Rock Edicts : General : 45, 215 ; *Re III* : 125, 344, 369, 388, 413 ; *RE IV* : 86, 162, 413 ; *RE VI* : 413 ; *RE VIII* : 43(ii), 96 ; *RE XII* : 78(§6) ; Separate Edicts : 78(§3), 244.
- (b) Major Pillar Edicts : General : 215 ; *PE IV* : 35, 140 ; *PE V* : 87 ; *PE VI* : 344 ; *PE VII* : 30(4), 344.
- (c) Minor Rock Edicts : General : 22, 27, 94, 109, 125, 252 ; *Rūpnāth* : 165, 260 ; *Bhābrā* : 151, 152, 358 ; *Maski* : 117.
- (d) Minor Pillar Edicts : *Sārnāth* : 165.
- (e) Cave inscriptions : 78(§7).

III. Notes on individual words : Here also a particular word will have been probably discussed where the edict in which it occurs is studied. The following list mentions only those articles where some specific words have been dealt with.

- (a) On various words : 75, 78(§4, §5), 102, 133, 157, 164, 165, 176, 181, 182, 188, 189, 193, 194, 215, 227, 235, 242, 243, 244, 249, 271, 338, 393, 394, 404.
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1. Also cf. J. Canedo, Zur wort- und Satzstellung in der alt- und mittle-indischen Prosa.

2. Also cf. Bühler. Indische Palaeography. Eng. Tr. Appendix to IA 33 (1904), and G. H. Ojha. Palaeography of India.

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